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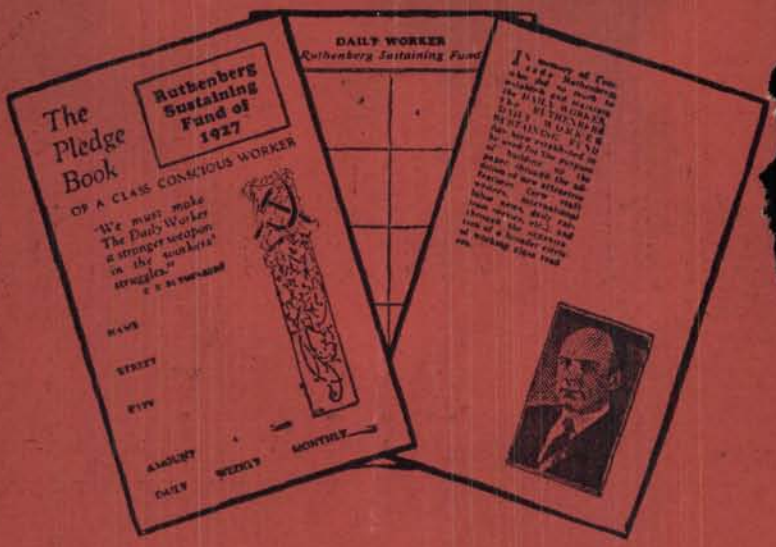
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The Communist

A Theoretical Magazine for the Discussion of Revolutionary Problems

PUBLISHED BY THE WORKERS (COMMUNIST) PARTY

MAX BEDACHT, *Editor*

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~ EDITORIALS ~

EVENTS in China take more than ever the foreground of the stage of present day history. First, because of their international significance; and, second, because of the inner developments of the revolutionary forces.

It becomes clearer every day that the imperialist powers are bent upon a course which, though it very probably means war with resultant misery and sufferings for hundreds of thousands and perhaps millions of people of their own countries, will spend the last ounce of energy to retain their tyrannical grip on China. While their mouths are overflowing with moral phrases, their hands are taking an ever firmer hold of the loot obtained by them from the Chinese people in a century of exploitation, oppression, coercion, and intimidation. This makes the danger of war an immediate reality.

From the very beginning there was little hope for a policy of non-interference in the Chinese revolution by the imperialist powers. Too much is at stake for them.

The rapid development of American capitalism, for instance, has reduced considerabey the internal market for newly accumulated capital. But the accumulation fo new capital increases in the same ratio as the inner market for it decreases. This means either unemployed (and therefore useless) capital in the hands of the capitalists—or a need for new markets and a consequent imperialist policy of the capitalist government.

China presents an ideal market for capital. It has tremendous and as yet unexploited and untouched natural resources and a great amount of cheap labor power. These are enticing advantages in the eyes of our American imperialist capitalists. To obtain or retain such a reserve market is a question of life and death for capitalism. Such markets are at once a source and a gathering basin for imperialist extra profits. Without them capitalism is doomed to decline as a social institution built on profit-making.

This is one of the insoluble contradictions of capitalism. Without the domination of these worlds capitalism cannot retain its economic machinery and will fall before the revolutionary attacks of its enemy, the proletariat. But any attempt to retain or gain this domination means war and a consequent derangement of the economic machinery of capitalism, a sharpening of the class struggle, and an eventual victory of the revolution. In the former case,

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capitalism will be defeated because of growing senile weaknesses of its economic system; in the latter case, it will be defeated because of weaknesses caused by the loss of its economic blood.

* * *

THE imperialist powers follow the policy of fighting for the life of their order as long as there is life in it. Especially so because it is in the last analysis only the life of their workers that they risk. This fact has produced the danger of war as a constant accompaniment of the nationalist revolution in China. This fact has now produced the danger of war as an immediate problem.

The alleged casus belli is the killing of some white nationals in Nanking at the time of the conquest of Nanking by the Chinese national army.

The Hankow government declares that it is willing to agree to retributions if an impartial commission establishes the guilt of the nationalist army. At the same time the Hankow government raises the question of abrogation of the unequal treaties. All of these treaties have been obtained by the "great" powers from China like a highwayman obtains the purse of a peaceful citizen. No wonder, therefore, that the powers reject the proposals of the Hankow government. First, they are unwilling to discuss whether the loot in their pockets was obtained by unfair means; second, they are not anxious to establish the guilt of anybody in particular in the Nanking incident. All they are anxious to do is to continue the practice that when military or naval forces of foreign powers kill Chinese by the thousands then this massacre was necessary to maintain the "honor" of these powers. But whenever a citizen of these foreign powers loses his life in China, even though he may have provoked his own fate, then it is an outrage that no amount of retribution can wash off. With the "great" powers this is a game of "heads I win; tails you lose". In this connection it is only fair to remember the outrageous massacre of Chinese in Canton on the 21st of June, 1925, by Great Britain and the Wanshin massacre last year also perpetrated by Great Britain. It is also necessary to remember that the death of some few white nationals in Nanking was receipted for by an American-English bombardment of Nanking, causing the destruction of part of the city of Nanking and the death of hundreds of Chinese.

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THE danger of America's participation in a war with China (which would inevitably develop into a new world war) is greater than any war danger that ever confronted us. American capitalism has for decades seen the inevitability of its imperialist aggression leading it to a conflict in the Far East. It has systematically prepared for this conflict.

For decades the propagandists of American capitalism have swamped the American masses with propaganda against the "Yellow Peril". While secretly they attempted to import and in some cases succeeded in importing, cheap yellow labor power. The American capitalists worked overtime persuading the American working class of the necessity of exclusion laws against yellow labor in the interests of American labor. It was evident during all this time that this was merely a method of propaganda preparing the American workers for an eventual clash in the Far East. Now American capital hopes to cash in on this propaganda. All the prejudices and all the hatreds produced by this propaganda in the minds of the American worker are now to be transformed into war enthusiasm.

The intended martial adventures of American capital in China have no resemblance of benevolance toward the American workers. The conquest of China for imperialist capital has as its aim the exploitation of the Chinese workers in the interest of imperialist capital. With the establishment of this exploitation the mass of Chinese workers will be played against the native workers in the imperialist home countries, in our case against the American workers. The benevolance of American capital toward the American workers will then find its practical manifestation not in the elevation of the Chinese coolie to the living standards of the American worker, but on the contrary, in the reduction of the American worker to the living standard of the Chinese coolie.

The ideological preparations made by American capital for just such an emergency as the present war danger in connection with Chinese events make this war danger a greater one than it would ordinarily be. This necessitates a multiplication of energies of all the forces that can be recruited in the struggle against war. The mobilization of these forces against war is the most pressing order of the day.

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THE internal developments of the revolutionary forces in China are also contributing to the dangers of war. The defection of Chiang Kai Shek from the revolutionary forces is an invitation to the imperialist powers for a united front with him against the revolution.

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The Chinese revolution is essentially a national revolution against foreign domination. In this sense it is a bourgeois revolution. But in the age of imperialism there can be no longer a purely bourgeois revolution. The forces antagonistic to bourgeois rule are too far developed even in backward countries. A revolution in the twentieth century, even though for the moment essentially a bourgeois revolution, has of necessity within it also the elements of a revolution of the proletariat and the exploited poor peasant masses. This creates within the revolution a contradiction. United on the immediate question of freedom from foreign imperialist yoke the revolutionary forces are divided on the question of where the revolution should end. The further the revolution moves away from its beginning and nears its end, the greater grow the differences within the ranks of the revolutionists. The bourgeois nationalists attempt to arrest the progress of the revolution at a certain time. The driving force of the revolution prevents their success. The nationalist bourgeois revolutionists begin to see in those revolutionary driving forces their enemy, begin to combat them and thus turn counter-revolutionary.

In the beginning and for some time the nationalist revolution remained in a stage of propaganda. When it reached the stage of action, propaganda was greatly neglected. The revolution was carried on not so much as a struggle of the masses but as a military struggle of the forces fighting under the nationalist banner. During this period comparatively slow progress was made by the revolution.

With the ascendancy of a militant Left Wing in the leading party of the nationalist revolution this situation changed. The struggle was gradually transformed from one of military formations against each other into a revolutionary struggle of the masses against the military forces of reaction. This naturally led also to a gradual change in the aim. With the appearance of the mass of oppressed in the struggle the aim is gradually changing from that of defeating and driving out foreign oppressors to that of defeating and eliminating oppression itself.

This development sharpened the differences between the right and Left Wing of the Kuomintang. The right wing is representative of the nationalist bourgeoisie. This bourgeoisie has no fault to find with oppression where it is the oppressor; but it finds fault with foreign oppression where it, too, is part of the oppressed.

The successes of the revolution have increased the revolutionary enthusiasm and the revolutionary self-confidence of the Chinese oppressed masses. They have also sharpened their understanding of the needs of the revolution. The power of revolutionary conquest of territory cannot rest solely in the driving force of the revolution-

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ary army but must also rely upon the defensive power of the armed revolutionary populace. The arming of the revolutionary masses in the conquered territories is therefore a question of life and death for the revolution itself. Chiang Kai Shek's move to disarm the workers of Shanghai is therefore an act of open counter-revolution. In Chiang Kai Shek the Chinese nationalist bourgeoisie showed its readiness to betray its own revolution so that it may prevent the victory of the revolution of the oppressed masses of China.

Chiang Kai Shek is a traitor to the Chinese revolution. If this needed any proof, that proof would be supplied by the attitude of the imperialist powers toward him.

* * *

THE final finding of the Supreme Court of Massachusetts in the case against Sacco and Vanzetti adds one of the blackest chapters to the dark history of American judicial frame-ups against the working class.

Class justice is the inevitable practice in all class-ruled society. Capitalist justice automatically means injustice to the proletariat. Capitalist justice has certain established rules:

1. It is a codification of rules for the protection of the capitalists, their possessions, and their system.

2. Because of that capitalist laws are in themselves the codification of injustice against the working class.

3. In every instance where a law is ambiguous and gives latitude to judicial interpretation its anti-labor meaning is a presupposed principle not to be violated.

4. All technical intricacies of capitalist justice, when applied to pro-capitalist defendants, are methods of preventing the tying of a noose around the neck of the guilty; but when applied to anti-capitalist defendants they turn into methods making sure the tying of the noose around the neck of innocent.

Capitalism in America, however, is not satisfied with its own "justice" against labor. This "justice" does not provide for methods of procedure against those of its enemies who cannot be even formally charged of a legitimate violation of any of its laws. For these emergencies (and also for cases where a formal legitimate charge would not provide the desired punishment) American capitalism has ever applied the method of frame-ups. Here we are not concerned with petty police frame-ups and the like. Here we deal with the frame-ups consciously executed by the state power through its judiciary machinery and engineered by the capitalist class itself. The victims are selected carefully. In some instances the selection is made because of the victims' value to the militant labor move-

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ment; in other instances the frame-up aims at intimidation of larger groups and sections of the working class. A real and unquestionable crime is fastened upon the victims. In some cases, like with the victims of the Haymarket frame-up in 1886 and with Billings and Mooney, conviction is secured by packed juries. In other cases, like with Vanzetti and Sacco, conviction is secured on evidence entirely foreign to the crime charged against them. Sacco and Vanzetti were charged with murder, but convicted for being "Reds". And when thread after thread of the not always finely spun judicial conspiracy against the victims of the frame-up are laid bare and the whole scoundrelly procedure against them becomes evident, then the intricacies of judiciary procedure must tighten the rope and secure the victims for the capitalist jackals.

Evidence of the frame-up is introduced in the form of new evidence not available at the time of the trial, and of a character liable to prove the innocence of the defendants. But the Supreme Court disregards this new evidence. New evidence may be available, say its learned members, but we only pass on formal errors in trial. No such errors apparent, we cannot invalidate the trial court's finding. The defendants may be innocent; but we poor Supreme Court judges are helpless. We do not pass on the defendants' guilt or innocence; we pass only on errors of the trial judge.

The defendants are obviously innocent. If the known evidence would leave any doubt, their innocence would be attested to by the frantic efforts of the judiciary machine to prevent a new trial. The will of the capitalist class stays every hand of the machinery of capitalist justice in Massachusetts which would be able to cut the judicial net of the conspiracy and free the innocent victims.

* * *

THE struggle for the lives and the freedom of Sacco and Vanzetti have, in the past, not taken sufficient cognizance of the obviously political character of the case. It has conceived of the defense merely as a legal measure. But the legal machinery of the state was the executor of the frame-up. It could not at the same time become the instrument of saving the victims.

There was—and there is—only one method of saving Sacco and Vanzetti, as there is only one method of finally securing Billings' and Mooney's freedom from their living graves of Folsom and San Quentin Penitentiaries. This method is the mobilization of the American workers, against whom the frame-ups to legally murder Sacco and Vanzetti and against Billings and Mooney were primarily directed.

The next phase of the defense of Sacco and Vanzetti must be this mobilization of the American workers. This mobilization must

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be directed not only toward the acquisition of freedom for Sacco and Vanzetti; it must be directed against the damnable method of frame-up; it must be directed toward the acquisition of freedom also for other victims of frame-ups, like Billings and Mooney; it must be directed toward the creation of a permanent political force of the working class which can and will challenge not only the frame-ups but also and primarily challenge the political power of the framers.

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IN SPITE of certain obvious attempts to minimize them, the statistics on recent student suicides are certainly noteworthy. Over thirty student suicides in the last ten weeks—we learn from the sensational headlines in the daily press. And how many more suicides or attempted suicides that are not recorded in the papers? Yesterday, three more! Tomorrow, what . . .?

The whole educational, psychological, "moral and religious world" is considerably disturbed over this phenomenon. How to explain it without getting too dangerously near a critique of the mad social system in which we live?

An eminent college president has attributed the suicides among students to the "materialistic" teachings of science, especially evolution, for, as he sagely remarks, tell a young fellow that he is an animal and he goes ahead and acts like one. (Of course, we are all acquainted with the tremendous suicide rate among the lower animals.) Another venerable divine finds that the suicides are due to the lack of religious training in the schools although it seems to us that if you really and truly believe in the beauties and joys of paradise you would be in a mighty hurry to leave this wicked, sinful world. A certain learned psychologist of the old school finds that imitation is responsible for it all; while on the other hand, an equally learned psychologist, a distinguished visitor, finds the "inferiority complex" at the bottom of the whole matter. Of course these profound theories are entirely aside from the usual crude police explanations—"worrying about exams," "some love affair," etc.

But all these gentlemen do not even convince themselves. Something seems to be wrong.

Perhaps it might not be entirely without profit for these venerable and learned gentlemen to examine the ideological and social world in which the students live. Perhaps there they may find some clue to the mystery.

The capitalist world of today is in a state of rapid decline. It is true America is the strongest link in the capitalist chain; yet it is a part of the bourgeois world and shares in its fate. Yes, the world of capitalism is crumbling—the whole edifice of bourgeois culture, intellectual, moral, and artistic, the whole system of bourgeois values, is collapsing about the ears of the astonished intellectuals. The old landmarks are disappearing—and (to the petty bourgeois intellectual) no new ones are distinguishable. Everywhere—chaos! It is the intelligentsia, the students, who are especially sensitive to this spiritual chaos and confusion. Life and culture has been emptied of all meaning, the bottom has fallen out. Some intellectuals, students

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especially, turn to a life of wild and meaningless dissipation that lacks the joy and spontaneity of the legendary "wildness" of youth. But it is all a snare and a delusion, for the void remains. Others perceive the emptiness of existence (**bourgeois** existence, for no other existence is conceivable to them) and lose themselves in revelling in hopelessness. But this too is empty and leads to disillusion. Of all the bourgeois intelligentsia only those who frankly and single mindedly pursue purely "material" ends, that is, the grossly petty bourgeois aims of self-enrichment and social climbing, can escape the broad mouth of the hell of cultural self-annihilation. Their day too will come, but not yet.

And so the best elements of the bourgeois intellectuals stand dizzily on the brink of the gaping chasm of chaos; is it any wonder then that, with the regularity of law, spiritual self-annihilation leads logically to actual physical self-annihilation? The poor wretches are the helpless victims of the devastating collision of social forces; they are relentlessly crushed in the jaws of those same historical contradictions whose existence they can neither recognize nor understand in the objective world.

In a number of European countries (Hungary, e. g.) where the collapse of capitalism has proceeded immeasurably further than in America and where the cultural chaos and confusion have reached almost unbelievable stages, student suicides have become so common that they attract hardly any notice; indeed, the "suicide epidemic" has penetrated other strata of the population much less sensitive to cultural currents than the intellectuals.

The sensational outbreak of student suicides in America is a sure reflex of the inevitable crumbling of the spiritual and material foundations of bourgeois society.

Only those manog the bourgeois intellectuals who are able to raise themselves above their class limitations and see the dawn in the darkness, the crystallization of the new in the chaos of the destruction of the old, only they can save themselves in the spiritual shipwreck of their class. But then they are no longer buorgeois; they have deserted their class and thrown in their lot with the proletariat, the historical bearer of the new day.

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Toward Another Wave of Revolutionary Struggles.

By JAY LOVESTONE

PART II.

The Chinese Revolution.

THE Chinese Revolution is the most significant historical event since the Proletarian Revolution in Russia in November, 1917.

The problems of bourgeois revolution in any of the so-called backward or economically under-developed countries are naturally tied up with the question of the struggle against imperialism. The pivotal point of the proletarian campaigns for working class supremacy is the fight against imperialism. The Chinese masses have been struggling against their native feudal militaristic oppressors and foreign exploiters. The Chinese masses have been battling for the establishment of a united democratic republic of workers and peasants. Hence, it is clear that the main tasks of the Chinese Revolution are an integral and an inseparable part of the international proletarian revolution.

The basis of and the key to the Chinese Revolution is to be found in the agricultural problem. The overwhelming majority of the many millions of peasants masses in China is landless. Side by side with the modern large-scale capitalist methods of production introduced in China, there have existed semi-feudal conditions of the exploitation of the peasantry by the native landed aristocracy. Compulsory labor, a vicious tax system, extensive pauperization, an exodus from the rural to the urban sections are the fruits of this feudal tyranny. It is primarily because of these oppressive conditions to which the great mass of Chinese peasants have been subjected, that the militarist overlords have been able to attract such large numbers into their mercenary armies.

And turning to industry in China we find that the most important sections of manufacturing, transportation, commerce and finance are dominated by the foreign imperialists. The biggest coal developments and the great textile industry, particularly in the Hankow and Shanghai districts, are in the grip of British and Japanese capitalists. There is a growing American influence in Chinese banking. China is a dazzling prize for the world imperialists as a source of raw material, as a huge market for manufactured goods, and as a giant source, an unlimited reservoir of cheap labor power. Chinese workers have, for a long time, been forced to accept even

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lower wages than the worst exploited workers in the imperialist countries.

There are all kinds of jealousies and conflicts of interests among the various imperialist powers which have struggled for privileges in China. We need but recount how energetically British imperialism is trying to overcome American imperialist maneuvers and policies in China. Likewise British imperialist diplomacy is working overtime to have the Japanese exploiting interests fall in line with Downing Street's proposals for "law and order" in China. Yet all the imperialist powers have had this in common; they have all resorted to buying out war lords and financing their counter-revolutionary armies against the aspirations and hopes of the Chinese people.

Obviously militarism in China is not a purely military force but is also a faithful ally of foreign capitalism and the most effective guarantor for the imperialist penetration and domination of China. The Chinese industrial bourgeoisie is very little developed. The native commerce and finance bourgeoisie are somewhat more developed. In the cities, the petty bourgeoisie, are the main social force next to the proletariat. In the rural sections the vast bulk of the peasantry are engaged in a constant bitter struggle against the village usurer, the gentry and the big landowners. The most cruel enemies of the peasants are the militarist generals and their agents.

With this sketch of the background of class divisions in China we are able to have a better understanding of the main demands of the Chinese Revolution. First of all comes the struggle against the foreign imperialists. Here there can be and there have been united the interests of the broadest masses with the interests of even a section of the native industrial bourgeoisie. This battle against imperialism is inseparable from the struggle against the militarists who are serving as the agents of the foreign imperialists. The principal object of this struggle is to abolish the feudal limitations which have proved a fetter upon the development of industry and the unification of China under a democratic government.

Though this basic character of the Chinese Revolution is bourgeois, the sharp struggle against imperialism unavoidably involves a sharp attack on imperialist private property. Imperialism cannot be destroyed in China or elsewhere without undermining and destroying the very roots of its existence and vitality. In the logic of the class war this simply means the workers and peasants taking over and nationalizing the basic wealth and resources of the country—the railways, the banks, the big factories and the concessions. Thus we see the dialectic process in which out of the very struggle

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to attain the bourgeois limits, the Chinese Revolution goes away beyond the capitalist bounds.

When we understand this theoretical basis of the Chinese Revolution and class relations we can readily and clearly comprehend the most recent phases of the Chinese struggle, the swing to the left and the consequent tendency towards a sinking of differences among the imperialist powers for a concerted attack on the revolutionary Chinese masses and the Soviet Union.

The agrarian revolution runs like a red thread thru the whole Chinese conflict. The land to the peasantry—is a living demand, an inspiring slogan, a rousing battlecry. Months ago General Feng commanding the People's National Army paid the price of disastrous defeat when he failed to give the land to the Honanese peasantry. Peasant rebellions behind his lines with the consequent disintegration of his army were the primary causes of his undoing, rather than the military prowess of Wu Pei Fu and his other reactionaries. The overwhelming mass of the Chinese peasantry is struggling for the abolition of feudalism, for the removal of the intolerable taxes, for the eradication of militarism, and for the distribution of the land among the peasantry by the state. An integral part of these demands is the insistence on the abolition of the entire feudal-bureaucratic apparatus and the substitution therefor of organs chosen by the peasants themselves to serve as fundamental parts of the revolutionary national government.

On the basis of the report of Comrade Tan Ping-schan, leader of the Communist Party of China and now Minister of Agriculture in the Chinese Revolutionary Nationalist Government, the Seventh Enlarged Executive Committee of the Communist International adopted its program of action. This report dealt at length with the dynamics of the Chinese Revolution and its transition from one stage to another.

In each of the stages thru which the Chinese Revolution has gone there has been a class which has served as the driving force. The Leninist policy has been and is to mobilize every secton of society for the revolutionary struggle wherever and whenever it can be of dynamic value for the revolution. We are now in a new stage of the Nationalist Revolution in which the native industrial bourgeoisie are beginning to discard their relatively progressive role. Now only a bloc between the proletariat and the peasantry and the urban petty bourgeoisie can serve as the driving force. We must at all times in the class war against the imperialists be careful not to drive away too early any section of the population which is still willing and ready for the struggle.

With the middle bourgeoisie being pushed back and the big bourgeoisie more and more in the camp of the enemy, the counter-

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revolutionary, the leadership of the national revolutionary struggle falls more and more to the proletariat as the driving force of the afore mentioned bloc. This means that the proletariat must assume the leadership of the peasantry and vigorously push through the land program of the revolution—the land to the peasantry. This shift of leadership of the Chinese Revolution to the proletariat, and not the "manipulations" of those whom the imperialists choose to call "crafty Russian advisers", is the force behind the recent events in China. The strikes at Shanghai, the vigorous anti-imperialist movement sweeping even the cities occupied by Chang Tso Lin, the increasing importance of the trade unions, the rising influence of the Chinese Communist Party and the strengthening centralization of the very fabric and structure of the Kuomintang Party are all evidences of the new stage which the Chinese Revolution has entered.

A word or two about the Kuomintang whom the capitalist press the world-over has reported and editorialized and headlined split into many ungatherable pieces sometimes ago. In essence the Kuomintang is that party representing the joint interests of all the revolutionary forces fighting against imperialism and feudalistic reaction. The petty bourgeois revolutionary democracy is represented largely by the left wing of the Kuomintang. Consequently close co-operation between the left wing of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is essential to the unity of this broad party and to the success of the Chinese Revolution.

The Communist Party of China is now correctly concentrating on the task of training the proletariat for its role of leadership, is vigorously insisting on defending proletarian interests such as realizing the Eight Hour Day, the right to organize, building up powerful trade unions, energetically supporting the demands of the peasantry, increasing its own membership, especially increasing its following in the revolutionary army, and gathering together in one mighty state organization all the revolutionary forces. The youthful Communist Party of China is confronted with a difficult and complicated situation. It is fighting international imperialism. The success of our brother party depends on the one hand on its ability to lead the revolution to a higher stage without delay and on the other hand to avoid forcing steps artificially in an effort to skip inevitable and unavoidable phases and stages of development.

The significance of the Chinese Revolution for the world's working class is inestimable. China is today a nemesis to capitalist stabilization, a mighty reservoir of revolutionary spirit for the whole East. As the victorious Chinese Revolution sweeps away its foes, the logic of events leads more and more to the formation of a bloc between the national-revolutionary forces of China and the Soviet Union. This is the only answer to the threats of the imperialist

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powers to intervene and crush the Chinese Revolution. Therefore it becomes the primary task of all Communist Parties to mobilize the greatest possible proletarian forces in defense of the revolutionary Chinese masses fighting imperialism.

The Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union.

The recent struggle in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union is not the first struggle in the ranks of the leading party of the Russian proletariat over the tasks of maintaining a correct Bolshevik line. There had been going on a sharp conflict with the Mensheviks up to and during the Revolution of 1905 over the problems of organizing a strictly centralized proletarian party and for the hegemony of the proletariat. From 1905-1910 there was the struggle against the Otsovists and the Liquidators for the maintenance of a revolutionary party and a revolutionary mass movement. Then came the fight with the August Bloc (1912) which was a merger of the liquidation trends of the Right and the Ultra-Left. In the August Bloc, it is interesting to note in the light of the events, Trotsky's platform was a "revolution against the old Party". If one wants to get an idea of the unprincipled and adventurist character of this Bloc, then let him read Lenin's estimate and characterization of it.

When have Oppositions arisen in the Bolshevik Party? What are the roots of these Oppositionists? Let us recall such moments as the time of the October revolution, the Brest, Litovsk Peace, on the eve of the New Economic Policy, the contest over Trotzkyism 1923-24, and the last controversy. In each of these cases a change of tactics was involved as a result of changed class forces and relations. And in each of these instances the Opposition is a reflex of the effects of petty bourgeois environment on the proletariat as a class and on its party. We must always keep in mind that the revolutionary party of the proletariat consists not only of the most advanced sections of the working class but also of the forces on the border of the working class. These forces are either only recently proletarianized or petty bourgeois.

The last Opposition in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union was a Bloc Opposition. It was an Opposition which had room for all kinds of elements which were "against"—against, of course, the correct Leninist line, the correct line of the Central Committee. That is why there was comfortable room in the New Opposition for Trotzkyism, the Workers' Opposition, and Zinoviev. The creation of an unprincipled Opposition to the Central Executive Committee takes a similar course in all Communist Parties.

Let us trace briefly the development of the New Opposition. It will prove a source of great enlightenment for the members of

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every section of the Communist International and help them in their work in their own parties. We will recall that at the Fourteenth Party Convention the Leningrad Opposition charged the Central Committee with having followed a "kulak policy" and with a failure to carry out the policy of industrialization. At the same time, though surreptitiously, it accused the Central Committee of Trotzkyism. Next came the Plenum of the Central Committee in April, 1926. Trotzky and Kamenev now and then supported each other. By the time of the June Plenum there was already one Opposition Platform. Zinoviev and Kamenev surrendered completely to Trotzky.

Between this Plenum and the Fifteenth Party Conference there came with lightning rapidity the frontal factional assault against the Central Committee by the Opposition, the complete repudiation of the Opposition's factionalism as indicated by the overwhelming majority of the membership being for the Central Committee, and the retreat of the Opposition in the declaration of October 16, 1926. At the Seventh Plenum of the Comintern came the camouflaged "appeal" of the Opposition. This "appeal" was in reality only an attempt to broaden the bounds of their factionalism and to secure an international platform for themselves. Of course, these plans and hopes failed dismally.

How is it that the Opposition bloc was concentrated under the leadership of Trotzky? The answer is plain. All the various factions, sections, groupings, grouplets, and individuals in the Opposition Bloc were united by a common denial of the Leninist understanding, Leninist conception of the character of the revolution. Only in Trotskyism as the most composite and complete expression or system of oppositional deviations could this bloc have unified expression. The peculiarities of the situation growing out of the transition from the first to the second phase of the New Economic Policy coupled with the tasks of Socialist construction in this transition served as the basis of action for the New Opposition. Fortunately both the strong and sound reaction of the proletarian membership and the very ecenomic situation brought on the defeat of the Opposition through showing the correctness of the Central Committee policy.

Revolutionary phrases (from) covering up Right contents (substance); Trotskyism as a common basis; an eclecticism and unprincipledness serving as the binding force—these are the outstanding specific characteristics of the Opposition Bloc.

When we say that the question of the character of the Russian Revolution was involved in the last discussion and struggle in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union we are touching the kernel of the whole issue—the question of the construction of Socialism in one country. On the correct Leninist formulation of and answer

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to this question depends everything. What do we mean by the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union? This simply means the economic defeat by the Russian proletariat of its own bourgeoisie with its own forces. This means the successful obstruction of the sources for the development of new capitalist elements. Positively, the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union means a continuous and quickened pushing aside of these capitalist elements by the Socialist elements.

But the question of the construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union must be kept aside and distinct from the question whether this process of building up Socialism in the Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is synonymous with the defeat of international capitalism. Putting it more concretely we would say: "Whether the Russian proletariat with its own forces can overcome the entire world bourgeoisie". This latter question Leninists can answer only thusly: the international capitalists can be vanquished only by the forces of the international proletariat. The trouble with the Opposition bloc has been that it has always confused these two questions. The New Opposition has continuously confused the question of the Russian proletariat overcoming with its own forces whatever capitalist elements there are or presently may tend to develop in the Soviet Union with the question of the defeat of the international bourgeoisie.

Stripped to its narrowest sense the question may put thus: Is it possible to overcome the existing differences of interest between the proletariat and the peasantry within the framework of the Soviet Republic? Leninism says: YES. Trotskyism says: No. We must not forget for a moment that a strong, a firm alliance between the proletariat and the peasantry is the very essence not only of the maintenance of the Soviet Power but also of the building up the new ecenomic system—Socialism.

Socialism proposes the organization of urban industrial production and rural agricultural production into one organic economic whole. In this development, agriculture comes under the leadership of the Socialized urban industry. The relations between the two phases of society's production are based on a system of direct exchange of products and the prevention of the development of all private capitalist elements of production. The political basis for this development has already been created in the Soviet Union by the dictatorship of the proletariat controlling all the basic positions of industry, exchange and transportation, the planned organization of heavy industry and the nationalization of the proletarian state apparatus is impossible.

Towards this end the Soviet Union has been making marvelous progress on the road to industrialization. Since 1923 the rate of

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increase of industrial development has been 76% as against 37% for agriculture. Of course, agriculture is not to be neglected and is not being neglected. Agricultural development—as a basis for the necessities of life, the production of raw material, and as a market for industry—is a prerequisite for the building up of Socialist industry. The proletariat having the leadership in the development of the heavy nationalized industry does not—as the bourgeoisie do in their countries—treat agriculture as a "colony of industry". As the organization of co-operatives, as the organization of collective enterprises and the introduction of higher technique proceed in agriculture our goal is achieved to an increasing degree.

The Soviet Union's price policy of reducing industrial costs, the consistant raising of the level of agricultural technique and production, the development of co-operatives, the elimination of private traders as middlemen between industry and agriculture are only steps taken by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in the direction of the realization of the essence of Socialism.

Unquestionably there is a basic contradiction between the Soviet Republic and international capitalism. Here we touch the perspective of the world revolution. The existence side by side of the Soviet Union with the capitalist world for a long time is impossible. The numerous contradictions and conflicts of interest among the imperialist powers only to serve to postpone the fundamental contradiction between Socialism and capitalism. Sooner or later this can only and must be solved on an international scale in a struggle of the international working class against the international capitalists. The October Revolution in Russia was not the world revolution. It was a prelude to the world revolution. Yet it was more than that. The October Revolution has been and continues to be the base and center for the World Revolution.

The struggle of the Russian proletariat is bound up with the struggle of the international working class, with the struggles of the colonial peoples. Simultaneously the strengthening of the Soviet State means the hastening of the proletarian revolution in all countries and vice versa. The final victory of Socialism in one country (the Soviet Union) can only be assured after the collapse of capitalism in a number of the more highly developed bourgeois countries—after the defeat of the world bourgeoisie. Now it becomes very clear for us what serious consequences not only theoretically but also practically there have been involved for our brother party in the Soviet Union and for the whole international working class in the confusion of the above mentioned two questions—"the possibility of overcoming its own bourgeoisie with the possibility of overcomng its own bourgeoisie with the possibility of overcoming the world bourgeoisie by the forces of the proletariat of one country."

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At this point it is not necessary to go into further details but it can be and has been very clearly proven by the discussions in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and at the Seventh Plenum that the Trotsky's theory of "Permanent revolution" and his denial of the possibility of building up Socialism in one country, his denial of the possibility of solving the contradictions between the proletariat and the peasantry in one country, are integrally part of one un-Leninist conception of the world revolution.

The New Opposition has maintained fallaciously that the Kulaks regulate Soviet Economy. At the Seventh Plenum the New Opposition Bloc evolved the theory that because the Soviet Union has increased its participation in world trade recently, that it is therefore more and more dependent on international capitalism. Here we have confusion worse confounded. The Opposition confuses the relations between Soviet Economy and capitalist economy as a fusion of the two. The fact of the matter is that those countries which participate most in world trade are most independent relatively. Likewise one cannot over estimate the importance of the Soviet foreign trade monopoly as a regulator of the Soviet Union's relations with world capitalist economy.

There was some slight repercussion of this Un-Leninist Bloc in some of the other sections of the Communist International. For instance, we had Souvarine in France, Ruth Fischer and Maslow in Germany. Korsch took some of his arguments from the statements of the Opposition Bloc. Everywhere the support for the Opposition Bloc came from a union of the ultra-left with the Right on the basis of one struggle against the line of the Communist International.

Of all the Parties in the Comintern, except the German Party, the Workers (Communist) Party of America was the most prompt and energetic in its realization of the dangers of the theories and proposals of the New Opposition Bloc not only for the Communist Party of the Soviet Union but for the entire Communist International. Our Central Executive Committee was quick to perceive these dangers especially for America, though in our Party there was practically insignificant support for the Opposition Bloc—showing itself locally only here and there.

Let us quote from the resolution on the Russian question presented by the American delegation to the Seventh Plenum:

> Our Party opposed from the beginning Trotskyism not only as an international phenomenon, but also in its American variation, which was expressed in the gross Social Democratic deviations of Lore. Our Party deemed it necessary to continue the fight against Trotskyism also when it received the support of the leaders of the new opposition, Comrades Zinoviev and Kamenev, whose platform is a deviation from Leninism and a surrender to Trotskyism. In July and in October, and in its

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last November Plenum, our Central Committee condemned severely the new opposition and the new oppositional bloc as we were convinced that their policies were wrong, and that this opposition imperilled the unity not only of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and thereby the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet republic, but was also detrimental to the most vital and important interests of the proletariat of all countries, as well as our American Party . . . .

Pessimism, skepticism, disbelief and overestimation of difficulties are the worst enemies of the Communist idea in America. In no other country do we find such a quantity of "ex-Socialists," "ex-champions of the class struggle," "tired radicals." Lassitude and pessimism sometimes show themselves even in our own ranks. It is one of the most important tasks to eradicate this evil. The American Party which struggles for the cause of Socialism in the most powerful imperialist country, which represents the capitalist pole of present society, looks with full admiration to the great Communist Party of the Soviet Union which created a powerful workers' republic and which is building Socialism at the other pole—the Socialist pole. We see clearly the connection between the disbelief in the possibility of complete construction of Socialism in the Soviet Union, and the disbelief in the final defeat of capitalism in America.

The American Party, which after many years of factional struggles from which the Party suffered so much, is now on the way toward inner consolidation, declares itself in complete agreement with the slogan issued by Comrade Bucharin: "Down with factionalism within the Communist International." It urges the Plenum to take up a definite attitude towards the international factionalism again proclaimed by the leaders of the opposition bloc within the Communist Party of the Soviet Union as well as within the Communist International.

The American Party at the Seventh Plenum.

In a subsequent article the writer proposes to treat this question of the rationalization of capitalism and the tasks of the Comintern, particularly as applied to the tasks of the Workers (Communist) Party in trade union work, in the light of the deliberations and decisions of the Seventh Plenum. But before concluding we propose to sketch briefly the question of the American Party at the sessions of the Seventh Plenum of the Communist International.

This was the first Plenum of the Comintern in which American delegates participated, and at which there was no "American question," in the old sense of the word. For the first time in the history of our Party there was no American controversy before the C. I. for solution or settlement. This can be considered as evidence of great forward strides towards Party consolidation since the last convention.

Yet, never before was so much attention given to the concrete problems confronting the American Party as at this Plenum. Particularly is it true that at no time before did the leading and ablest comrades of the Comintern give as thorough consideration to the tasks which we are facing as they did at the Seventh Plenum. The

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general opinion of the Comintern regarding the condition of our Party is summarized in the following.

Comrade Roy, the head of the American Secretariat of the Communist International, speaking at the Ninth Session of the last Plenum on November 27, 1926, said:

> I want to inform the Plenum of the Communist International that the general opinion prevailing in the Communist International as to the power of the American Party is absolutely incorrect. The American Party is not a negligible factor. It has made very much progress in the last six months. And as the growing signs of the weakening of American capitalism go on, so, side by side, the revolutionary forces in America are also developing, and the American Party has known how to step forward in due time as the conscious vanguard of the ever-growing and developing revolutionary forces.

And in the thesis on the International situation, and the tasks of the Communist International, we find the following:

> In spite of enormous difficulties, the Workers (Communist) Party of America has achieved considerable successes in the sphere of mass work. It has led a number of strikes, has made first attempts to organize the unorganized. It has penetrated into the Miners' Union. The weak sides of the Party still remain its inadequate influence among the real American workers and its organizational defects. The work of the Party in various spheres—for example, work among the Negroes, among women, etc. is still not well organized and the carrying out of the decisions of previous enlarged Plenums with regard to the establishment of a broad left wing in the trade unions has also been inadequate. It must also be placed on record that the Party has undergone internal consolidation, as a result of the considerable diminution of factional struggles. These create the premises for the further growth of the influence of the Party among the masses.

Never before was our Party so fortunate as to receive as much sharp and critical examination as it did at this Plenum. Particularly regarding our organization problems did our Party's work receive a complete analysis. We find as a result of this analysis that the organization department of the Comintern has constituted the following general estimates regarding the successes of reorganization of the American Party on the basis of shop and street nuclei:

> . . . . Through the reorganization of the Party on the basis of factory and street nuclei, the necessary organizational premise for a real Communist Party has been created. . . .
>
> Despite the great difficulties which were even greater in the United States than in other countries, and despite the talk of the "impossibility of reorganization in America" (Lore) and the pessimistic attitude of some comrades within the Party, who in the face of the difficulties and of some mistakes and shortcomings in the process of reorganization, clamored for the "reorganization of the reorganization," the reorganization had been a great achievement for the Party. It has proven that reorganization is possible even under the most difficult conditions.

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The activity of the Party membership is growing, as shown by the much better attendance at factory and street nuclei meetings, and in the publication of factory newspapers.

The American Delegation at the Seventh Plenum took a prominent part in all the deliberations and decisions of the Sessions. We were recognized as one of the principal parties.

Of course, with America playing the role it plays today in world politics, finance and industry, it is obvious that the importance of building a Communist movement here is inestimable. This is doubly true in the face of the present developments, indicating that we are heading for a world war. The deliberations of the Seventh Plenum, and the actions of the outstanding figures of the Comintern towards the American Party indicate that the party has moved forward considerably since the last convention and that despite all the difficulties in our path, we have the vitality, the energy, and the revolutionary consciousness to continue to move forward until there is developed in the United States a mass Communist Party that can and will lead the working class to victory.

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The Brussels Congress Against Imperialism.

By MANUEL GOMEZ.

I.

MARX'S slogan: Workers of the World Unite, was a war-cry, and much more than a war-cry. The action of the workers here and there in different parts of Europe soon gave it the force of prophecy. The formation of the International Workingmen's Association was the quarantee of fulfillment. It was the appearance of a *conscious* international army of working-class struggle, massed as a fact of history behind Marx's slogan of labor unity on a world scale. Thenceforward it was only a question of how long. That the First International died only meant that a Second International would be formed. Betrayal by the Second International meant the creation of the Third.

Lenin's slogan: Workers and Oppressed Peoples Unite, is still new in our ears. Yet we have already been able to cite no end of events indicating its prophetic import: the Soviet alliance with Kemal Pasha in 1920, the long-continued and developing Soviet-Chinese liaison, the entire experience of the U. S. S. R. in dealing with the question of nationalities, the support of the Riffian tribesmen by the French Communist Party against imperialist France, the protest of the Indian National Congress against the service of Gurka and Sihk police in China, etc., etc. We can now point to something else. There was held at Brussels, February 10-15 of this year, the first World Congress Against Imperialism, resulting in the establishment of the International League Against Imperialism and Colonial Rule.

What the 1864 gathering in St. Martin's Hall was to Marx's famous slogan, the Brussels Congress is to Lenin's slogan.

The congress brought together upwards of 180 delegates representing workers and oppressed nationalities in 37 different countries. More than 100 of the delegates came from colonial and semi-colonial lands. They were no mere collection of individuals but leaders of the anti-imperialist struggle, including representatives of the National Revolutionary Army of China, the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the executive committee of the Kuomintang, the Indian National Congress, the Egyptian Nationalist Party, the Syrian National Assembly, the South African Trade Union Congress, the Natal Native Council, the Persian Revolutionary Republican Party, the "Perhimpounan" of the Dutch East Indies, the nationalist movement of Korea, the two leading nationalist parties of French

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Indo-China, and the Negro movements of north and central Africa.

Latin America, where the movement for unity against American imperialism is growing by leaps and bounds, furnished one of the largest bodies of delegates. Mexico alone was represented by delegates of the National Peasants' League, the Mexican Confederation of Labor (CROM), the Associated Trade Unions of Tampico, the Mexican Students' Federation and the Mexican Section of the All-America Anti-Imperialist League. Representatives were also present from Cuba, Haiti, Porto Rico, Nicaragua, Panama, Venezuela, Colombia, Peru and Argentina.

Hammering out anti-imperialist policy at Brussels in conjunction with the delegates from Asia, Oceania, Africa and Latin America, were the representatives of working class organizations in the industrial countries. That they represented no inconsiderable force is indicated by the fact that seventeen trade union organizations with a total of 7,962,000 members had delegates there. Among them were the Miners' Federation of Great Britain, the British Minority Movement, the C. G. T. U. of France, the Belgian Clothing Workers' Union and the International Federation of Teachers.

Combination of the diverse movements of the colonies and semi-colonies, and the linking up of these movements with the working class movement in the imperialist countries: this was the essential union forged at Brussels. There were, however, other elements at the congress, such as the Women's International League for Peace and Freedom. It was a concentration of anti-imperialist forces of the world.

Quite as significant as the list of those who were present at the first World Congress Against Imperialism is the list of those who were not present. No one will be surprised to find the official "socialists" of the Second International foremost among the latter. Our readers need only remember that although the organization referred to was meeting in convention during the French imperialist drive against the Riffians, it could not find a place for the Riff question on its agenda. Not only were these people among those missing at Brussels, but one of their outstanding figures, "Comrade" Emile Vandervelde, refused, as Minister of Foreign Affairs in the Belgian government, to allow the congress to proceed at all until a pledge was extracted that the delegates would not touch upon the question of the Belgian Congo!

It might have been supposed, however, that the socialist leaders would have the decency to refrain from open attack upon the congress, particularly as the executive committee of the Second International, meeting at Paris simultaneously with the anti-imperialist gathering at Brussels, was just sending forth a platonic statement

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in support of the Chinese revolution. Such a supposition would no doubt appear naive indeed to Vandervelde and his friends. Without warning, the Second International issued a bitter tirade against the congress, which it labeled as "Communist." Friedrich Adler, secretary of the International, wrote an official communication along similar lines to the congress itself. Mr. Adler's organization was undeterred by the fact that participating at Brussels were the representatives of every responsible unit of the Chinese revolution, as well as of the other important organizations of the colonial and semi-colonial countries.

The method revealed here is characteristic: empty statements on behalf of national liberation, combined with sabotage of every attempt of the subject peoples to free themselves from imperialism. Nothing could more completely indicate the imperialist and counter-revolutionary role of the Second International than its cynical policy with regard to the Brussels congress.

What was accomplished at the congress? With remarkable directness, the delegates went about their serious business of preparing concerted action against imperialism. Delegates from a given country would form themselves into a committee to consider their national problems; then they would meet with the delegations from contiguous territories having overlapping immediate problems; finally, the delegations primarily concerned with the struggle against a given imperial system (British, French, Japanese or American) would come together. In this way, despite innumerable difficulties, the beginnings of a practical anti-imperialist strategy was worked out.

Many important resolutions were adopted, the temper of which is indicated by the following general resolution on imperialism:

> The World Congress Against Imperialism is of the opinion that capitalist foreign policy, by its very essence, can only end in the enslavement, forced labor, and extermination of the native population of the colonial territories.
>
> Imperialism is not an accidental phenomenon from which capitalism can rid itself of its own volition, it is the logical sequence of historical development. But finance capitalism which is economically and politically dominant in the capitalist mother countries, is attaining direct profits through the exploitation of the native workers on the one hand and colossal profits through its domination of the sources of raw materials on the other.
>
> The overwhelming majority of the working class in the imperialist countries does not participate in these extra profits, only small portions are thrown away by the capitalists to corrupt a small section of the working class. The situation of the working class in the mother countries is tremendously affected by the unlimited exploitation of colonial territories.
>
> At present we are faced with two principal kinds of exploited colonial territories:

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1. Completely subjected countries which are governed by the motherland through its colonial bureaucracy.

2. Countries nominally independent, but which have been brought into actual dependence upon the imperialist powers through treaties forced upon them, and which represent a state of equal exploitation.

In direct opposition to the various forms of colonial suppression and exploitation, this congress demands that the national right of selfdetermination which is only piously professed by the so-called League of Nations, should be realized through the complete liberation of all colonial nations and the immediate abrogation of all treaties not founded on the basis of equal rights.

In support of this demand the congress also rejects any new acquisition of colonial countries by imperialist states as well as any new distribution of colonial mandates amongst states which at present do not possess any colonies, and amongst states which have lost their colonies; neither can any state or private capitalist derive special rights out of the fact that the capitalists of a foreign state have invested capital in the countries which are nominally still independent.

The most eminent representatives of the progressive European and American colonial world support this demand.

The Congress Against Colonial Oppression and Imperialism is called upon to cement the alliance of the struggling workers, peasants, small proprietors and intellectuals on the one hand, and a more comprehensive alliance between these sections of society and the class-conscious workers of the whole world on the other.

In the discussion on the various points of the agenda, perhaps the most significant remarks were those which related to the coordination of the national liberation movements of the colonies and semi-colonies with the labor movements of their own countries. It was emphasized repeatedly that the forces of national liberation must base themselves more and more upon the mass movements of workers and peasants. That general agreement could be reached on this point, in a gathering representing such widely divergent social strata as the one at Brussels, is a tribute to the revolutionary metal of the congress. It would have been impossible, of course, before the practical experiences of national revolution in Turkey, India, Java and, above all, China. This means that it would have been impossible before the present general "awakening of the East." But then the congress itself would also have been impossible.

That the congress was meeting in the midst of the world-shaking events in China was decisive from many points of view. The congress itself became a part of those events. They gave it its quite unexpected drawing power, determined not only the size but the calibre of the delegations participating, influenced the course of the deliberations, inspired many of the important resolutions, set a revolutionary stamp upon all the proceedings. The Chinese delegation, numbering 21, was the largest of any. China was at all times a dominant consideration in the debates. Thus the delegates could not confine themselves to abstractions but were forced to

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speak in terms of one central, urgent, practical problem. In the methods of approach to the central problem were created methods of approach to other problems. Finally, the League Against Imperialism and For National Independence, formed at Brussels, takes on the attributes of struggle which the Chinese revolution gave to its birth-congress.

The time may come when the Chinese revolution will reckon as not the least of its achievements, its contribution to the success of the Brussels congress.

In no instance was the influence of the Chinese revolution more apparent than with respect to the British delegation. The congress met during the period when Austen Chamberlain was engaged in his exchange of notes with Foreign Minister Eugene Chen over the sending of British battleships to Shanghai. The reader will recall the atmosphere that surrounded them. The English newspapers talked of only two things: the Gladstone libel suit and China. The working class was deeply agitated over the prospect of war with China. Such intense interest in foreign affairs would be impossible for American workers. It was extra-ordinary even in England. Huge mass meetings and demonstrations, resolutions of local Labor Party organizations, the insistent pressure of the rank and file, had forced Ramsay MacDonald to reverse his policy on the Chinese situation overnight.

It is only in the light of the foregoing circumstances that one can fully explain the make-up of the British delegation at Brussels. It represented more solid strength than the delegation from any other imperialist country, and it was a real united front, extending all the way from Robert Bridgeman, brother of the British Admiralty head, on the one hand, to MacManus and Crossleigh of the Communist Party on the other. Old George Lansbury, vice-chairman of the Labor Party, was there. A. Fenner Brockway, secretary of the Independent Labor Party, was there officially representing his party. The other included John Stokes of the London Trades Council; S. O. Davies of the executive committee of the Miners' Federation; John Beckett, Labor M. P.; Ellen Wilkinson, M. P.; Harry Pollitt, representing the Minority Movement in the trade unions; Helen Crawfurd of the International Workers' Aid, and R. W. Postgate, representing the Plebs' League.

British reformists are fundamentally no different from those of any other country; conditions force them to act differently; the whole disintegrating process of the British Empire, and, immediately, the acute Chinese situation.

The following joint declaration was made to the congress in the name of the British, Indian and Chinese delegations:

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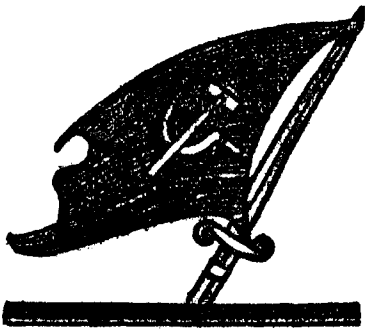
We, the undersigned, members of the British, Indian and Chinese delegations consider that the task of all working class forces in imperialist countries is:

1. To fight for full emancipation side by side with the national forces in oppressed countries in order to secure complete independence wherever such national forces so desire.
2. To oppose all forms of coercion against colonial peoples.
3. To vote against all credits, naval, military, and air, for the maintenance of armed force to be used against oppressed nations.
4. To expose the horrors of imperialism to the civil and military populations.
5. To expose imperialistic policy in the light of the working class struggle for freedom.

In Relation to the Immediate Situation in China.

1. We demand the immediate withdrawal of all armed forces from Chinese territory and waters.
2. We urge the need of direct action, including strikes and the imposition of the embargo to prevent movements of munitions and troops either to India or China and from India to China.
3. That estimates relating either to warlike preparations or to war shall be voted against.
4. That in the event of armed intervention or open war, every effort shall be made within the labor movement to use every weapon possible in the working class struggle to prevent hostilities.
5. We demand the unconditional recognition of the Nationalist Government, the abolition of the unequal treaties and of extra-territorial rights and the surrender of foreign concessions.
6. Finally in the interests of the trade union and labor movements in Britain, India, and China, we pledge ourselves to work for their immediate, close and active co-operation.

(*To Be Concluded in Next Issue*)



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The Civil War in the United States.

By KARL MARX.

(First published in the "Presse" (Vienna), Nov. 7, 1861.)

We have received a new article on the events in North America from our London correspondent in which the actual motives by which the Secessionist South is guided are portrayed in an entirely new light. We let our reporter have the word:

"LET him go, he is not worthy of your anger!" This advice of Leporello to Don Juan's deserted sweetheart* has been called again and again to the North of the *United States* by English political wisdom—recently still through Lord John Russel's lips.* If the North lets the South go, it frees itself from all amalgamation with slavery, from its historical herdeitary sin and creates the basis for a new and higher development.

In fact, were the North and the South to form two independent countries as, let us say, England and Hanover, their separation would not be more difficult than was the separation of England and Hanover. *"The South"* however, is neither a geographic domain definitely separated from the North nor a moral unit. It is not a country at all but a battle-cry. The counsel for an amicable separation presupposes that the Southern Confederacy, although it seized the offensive in the civil war, conducts it at least for defensive purposes. It is believed that for the slaveholder party it is only a question of uniting the domains it has dominated heretofore into an independent group of states and of depriving the Union of its supremacy. Nothing can be more false: *"The South needs its entire territory.* It wants and must have it." With his battle-cry, the Secessionists attacked Kentucky. By their "entire territory" they understand above all, all of the so-called *border states,* Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, Kentucky, Tennessee, Missouri and Arkansas. Besides, they lay claim to the other territory south of the line which runs from the northwest corner of Missouri to the

*Act 1, Scene 2: An Open Place in Seville, of Mozart's opera "Don Juan" (1787). Don Juan and Leporello, his servant, are escaping from an unfortunate mishap when they meet Donna Elvira whom Don Juan had promised to marry in Burgos and then deserted. She had followed him to Seville to keep him to his promise. Elvira, whom Don Juan did not recognize at first, overwhelms him with reproaches. After several embarrassing explanations Don Juan escapes, leaving Elvira with Leporello, who tells her that she is not the first nor last of Don Juan's deserted sweethearts and shows her a small volume full of the names of his fair ones.

*Lord John Russel (1792-1878), foreign secretary under Lord Palmerston (1859-65), and several times prime minister (1846-52; 1865-66).

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Pacific Ocean. Hence what the slaveholders call "the South", embraces more than three-quarters of the domain hitherto belonging to the Union. A large part of the territory thus claimed is still in the possession of the Union and would first have to be taken from it by conquest. All of the so-called border states, however, even those to be found in the possession of the Confederacy, were never *actual slave states*. They constitute rather the domain of the United States in which the system of slavery and the system of free labor exist side by side and struggle for supremacy, the actual battlefield between South and North, between slavery and freedom. The war of the Southern Confederacy is therefore no war of defense but a war of conquest, a war of conquest for the expansion and perpetuation of slavery.

The mountain chain which begins in Alabama and reaches northward up to the Hudson River—in a way, the vertebral column of the United States—cuts the so-called South into three pieces. The mountain land formed by the Alleghany range with its two parallel chains, the Cumberland range in the west and the Blue Mountains in the east, separates wedge-like the lowlands on the west coast of the Atlantic Ocean from the lowlands in the southern valleys of the Mississippi. The two lowlands separated by the mountainous country, with their enormous rice swamps and far-stretching cotton plantations, are the actual area of slavery. The long wedge of mountainous country, advanced into the heart of slavery, with a correspondingly free atmosphere, an invigorating climate and a soil rich in coal, salt, limestone, iron ore, gold, in short, every raw material necessary to a many-sided industrial development, is already now, for the most part, free land. Because of its physical characteristics, the soil here can only be cultivated with success by free, small-plot farmers. Here, the slave system only vegetates sporadically, never having struck root. In the greater part of the so-called border states, the core of the free population consists of the inhabitants of these highlands who have already taken the part of the North in the interest of self-preservation.

Let us examine the disputed territories separately.

*Delaware,** the most northeast of the border states, is morally and actually in the possession of the Union. All attempts of the Secessionists to form even a single party fraction favorable to them have been shattered against the unanimity of the population from the beginning of the war. The slave element of this state has been dying out for a long time. From 1850 to 1860 alone, the number of slaves diminished by half, so that Delaware out of a total population of 112,218 now still numbers only 1700 slaves. In spite of that,

*Compare the correspondence between Marx and Engels, vol. 3, p. 30-33.

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Delaware is demanded by the Southern Confederacy and would, in fact, be untenable for the North, from the military point of view, as soon as the South had seized Maryland.

In *Maryland* itself, the above-mentioned conflict between highland and lowland is taking place. Out of a total population of 687,034, there are 87,188 slaves. The latest general elections to Congress in Washington have once more strikingly proved that the overwhelming majority of the people side with the Union. The army of 30,000 Union troops, which is occupying Maryland at the moment, is not only intended to serve the army at the Potomac as a reserve but especially to keep in check the rebellious slaveholders in the interior of the country. Here a similar phenomenon is manifested as in other border states where the great mass of people adhere to the North, namely, a numerically insignificant slaveholder party adhering to the South. What it lacks in numbers, the slaveholder party makes up by means of force which it has secured through long years of possession of all state offices, inherited occupation with political intrigue and concentration of large fortunes in a few hands.

Virginia now constitutes the great fixed quarters where the Secession army and the main army of the Union confront one another. In the northwestern highlands of Virginia, the slave mass amounts to fifteen thousand while the free population, twenty times as large, consists for the most part of independent farmers. The eastern lowland of Virginia, on the contrary, numbers nearly half a million slaves. Negro-breeding and the sale of the Negroes in the southern states form its chief source of income. As soon as those in control (Radelsfuhrer) of the lowland had put through the Secession Ordinance by intrigues in the State Legislature at Richmond and had opened the door in all haste to the Southern army, northwest Virginia seceded from the Secession, formed a new state, and, weapon in hand, is now defending its domain against the Southern intruders under the banner of the Union.

Tennessee, with 1,109,847 inhabitants, of which 275,784 are slaves, is in the hands of the Southern Confederacy which has subjected the entire country to martial law and to a system of proscription reminiscent of the time of the Roman triumverate.* When,

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The so-called second triumverate of 43 B. C. Following the assassination of Julius Caesar, Mark Antony, Octavius Caesar, grand-nephew and adopted son of Julius Caesar, and Lepidus, governor of Gaul and Spain had themselves appointed Triumvirs by the Senate with unlimited power to reorganize the state. The first act of the Triumverate was to get rid of their personal enemies in Italy and to secure money by a system of proscription usually classified as horrible. Marking off on a list those whose deaths and estates he demanded, each surrendered a brother, an uncle, or an unsuspecting friend to the other's hate. Three thousand victims perished thus, among them the famous orator Marcus Tullius Cicero.

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in the winter of 1861, the slaveholders proposed a general people's convention which should vote upon secession or non-secession, the people's majority refused any convention movement. Later, when Tennessee had already been overrun by the soldiery of the Southern Confederacy and subjected to a reign of terror, more than a third of the voters still declared themselves for the Union at the elections. As in most of the border states, the actual center of resistance against the slaveholder party is here formed by the mountainous country, east Tennessee. On June 17, 1861, a general people's convention of east Tennessee convened in Grenville, declared itself for the Union, sent the former governor of the state, Andrew Johnson, one of the most zealous Unionists, as a deputy to the Senate in Washington, and published a "declaration of grievances," an expostulatory address exposing all the means of deception, of intrigue and of terror by means of which Tennessee was "voted out" of the Union. Since this time, east Tennessee has been held in check by the Secessionists by force of arms.

Conditions similar to those in West Virginia and east Tennessee exist in the north of Alabama, in the northwest of Georgia and the north of North Carolina.

Farther west, in the border state of *Missouri* with 1,173,317 inhabitants and 114,985 slaves—the latter mostly concentrated in the northwestern portion of the state—the People's Convention of August, 1861, decided for the Union. Jackson, the governor of the state and tool of the slaveholder party, rose up against the legislature of Missouri, was outlawed, and then took the lead of the armed hordes which attacked Missouri from Texas, Arkansas and Tennessee, in order to throw it upon its knees before the Confederacy and to cut its tie with the Union by means of the sword. Next to Virginia, Missouri forms, at this moment, the chief stage of the civil war.

New Mexico, not a state but a mere territory, whither, under Buchanan's presidency, twenty-five slaves were imported in order to send a slave constitution after them from Washington—did not want this constitution, as the South itself admits. But the South wants New Mexico and accordingly vomited forth an armed band of adventurers across the border from *Texas*. Against these emancipators, New Mexico has beseeched the protection of the Union government.

It will have been noticed that we are placing special emphasis on the numerical proportion of slaves to freemen in the separate border states. This proportion is, in fact, decisive. It is the thermometer by which the vital energies of the slave system must be measured. The soul of the whole secession movement is *South Carolina*. It numbers 402,541 slaves to 301,271 freemen. Second in or-

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der comes Mississippi which has given its dictator, Jefferson Davis,* to the Southern Confederacy. It numbers 436,696 slaves to 354,699 freemen. Third comes *Alabama* with 435,132 slaves to 529,164 freemen.

The last of the disputed border states which we still have to mention is *Kentucky.* Its latest history is especially characteristic of the policy of the Southern Confederacy. Kentucky numbers 225,490 slaves to 1,555,713 inhabitants. In three successive general people's elections—in the winter of 1861, when there were elections for a congress of the border states; in June of 1861, when the elections to Congress in Washington took place; finally, in August, 1861, in the elections to the legislature of the state of Kentucky—a constantly increasing majority decided for the Union. On the other hand, Magoffin, the governor of Kentucky, and all dignitaries of the state are fanatical partisans of the slaveholder party; likewise Breckinridge,* representative of Kentucky in the Senate at Washington, vice-president of the United States under Buchanan and candidate of the slaveholder party during the presidential election in 1860. Too weak to win Kentucky for secession, the influence of the slaveholder party was powerful enough to force it, at the outreak of the war, to a declaration of neutrality. The Confederacy recognized this neutrality as long as it served its purposes, as long as it was occupied with breaking the resistance in east Tennessee. Scarcely was this end achieved than they rapped at the doors of Kentucky with their gun stocks under the cry: *"The South needs all of its territory. It* wants and must have it!"

From southwest and southeast, its free-booting corps broke simultaneously into the "neutral" state. Kentucky awoke from its dream of neutrality, its legislature sided openly with the Union, surrounded the treacherous governor with a Committee of Public safety, called the people to arms, outlawed Breckinridge and commanded the Secessionists to clear the invaded territory immediately. This was the signal for war. An army of the Southern Confederacy moves against Louisville while volunteers from Illinois, Indiana and Ohio pour in to save Kentucky from the armed missionaries of slavery.

The attempt of the Confederacy to annex Missouri and Kentucky against the will of these states, for example, demonstrates the hollowness of the pretext that it is fighting for the rights of the individ-

*Jefferson Davis (1808-1889), elected to Congress in 1845; sceretary of War in 1853; senator from 1857-61. On February 9, 1861 he was unanimously elected "President of the Confederate States of America." Prosecuted for treason in 1867, his name was included in the general amnesty following the Civil War.

John Cabell Breckinridge (1821-1875), entered Congress 1851, elected vice-president under Buchanan in 1856; candidate for the presidency in 1860, but defeated by Lincoln; having denounced the latter's address as a declaration of war, he was expelled from the House of Representatives, receiving a command in the Confederate army.

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ual states against the aggression of the Union. To be sure, it acknowledges the right of the individual states which it classes with the "South" to separate from the Union, but in no way the right to remain in the Union.

Even the actual slave states—as much as war without, military dictatorship within, and slavery may, for the moment, give them the appearance of harmony everywhere—are nevertheless not without resisting elements. A striking example is *Texas* with 180,388 slaves to 601,039 inhabitants. The law of 1846, by force of which Texas entered the ranks of the United States as a slave state, justified it in forming not only one but five states out of its territory. The South would thereby have won ten instead of two new votes in the American Senate; and an increase in the number of its votes in the Senate was one of the chief aims of its politics at that time. From 1845-1860, however, the slaveholders found it impracticable to cut Texas, in which the German population plays a large role, even only into two states without the second state conceding to the party of free labor the upper hand over the party of slavery. The best proof of this is the powerful opposition to the slaveholder-oligarchy in Texas itself.

Georgia is the largest and most populated of the slave states. It numbers 462,230 slaves to a total population of 1,057,327, hence nearly half of the population. In spite of that, the slaveholder party has not hitherto succeeded in having the constitution, which was imposed upon the South at Montgomery, sanctioned by a general people's referendum in Georgia.

At the State Convention of Louisiana which convened at New Orleans on March 26, 1861, Rosellius, the political veteran of the state, declared: "The Montgomery Constitution is no constitution but a conspiracy. It does not inauguarate a people's government but an *odius and unrestrained oligarchy*. The people were not allowed to participate on this occasion. The Convention of Montgomery has dug the grave of political freedom and now they call upon us to witness its burial."

The oligarchy of 300,000 slaveholders used the Congress of Montgomery not only to proclaim the separation of the South from the North. It exploited it at the same time for the overthrow of the internal constitution of the slave states, for the complete subjection of that part of the white population which had still asserted some independence under the protection of the democratic constitution of the Union. Already during 1856 to 1860, the political leaders, jurists, moralists and theologians of the slaveholder party, did not try so much to prove that negro slavery is justified as rather that the color is immaterial in the matter and that the working class is everywhere created for slavery.

Thus one sees that the war of the Southern Confederacy is, in

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the exact sense of the word, a war of conquest for the expansion and the perpetuation of slavery. The greater part of the border states and territories is still in the possession of the Union whose part they have taken, first through the ballot box, then with arms. The Confederacy, however, counts them as belonging to the *"South"*, and tries to conquer them from the Union. In the border states, which the Confederacy once occupied, it holds the relatively free mountain country in check by means of martial law. Within the actual slave states themselves, it is driving out the democracy obtaining there by means of the unrestrained oligarchy.

With the relinquishing of its plan of conquest, the Southern Confederacy would renounce its vitality and the purpose of secession. Secession, to be sure, only took place because the transformation of border states and territories into slave states no longer seemed attainable within the Union. On the other hand, with a peaceful surrender of the disputed territory to the Southern Confederacy, the North would abandon more than three-fourths of the entire territory of the United States to the slave republic. The North would lose the Gulf of Mexico entirely, the Atlantic Ocean with the exception of the narrow strip of the Bay of Penobscott up to the Bay of Delaware and would even cut itself off from the Pacific Ocean. Missouri, Kansas, New Mexico, Arkansas and Texas would draw California after them, the great agricultural states in the basin between the Rocky Mountains and the Alleghanies, in the valleys of the Mississippi, Missouri and Ohio, incapable of wresting the mouths of the Mississippi from the hands of the strong hostile slave republic in the South, would be forced by their economic interests to secede from the North and join the Southern Confederacy. These Northwestern states would, in their turn, draw after them in the same whirlwind of secession all northern states situated further east with the exception of, let us say, the states of New England.

Thus, in fact, no dissolution of the Union would take place but a *reorganization* of the same, *a reorganization on the basis of slavery*, under the acknowledged control of the slaveholding oligarchy.* The plan of such a reorganization has been openly proclaimed at the Congress of Montgomery by the leading speakers of the South, setting forth the paragraph of the new constitution which allows every state of the old Union to join the new Confederacy. The slave system would infect the entire Union. In the northern states, where negro slavery is practically unfeasable, the white working class would gradually be pressed down to the level of helotism. This corresponds entirely to the loudly proclaimed principle that only certain races are capable of freedom; and just as the actual labor in

*Compare Marx to Engels, September 10, 1862, "Der Briefwechsel z. Engels u. Marx", vol. 3, p. 92.

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the South is the lot of the negro, so in the North, it is the lot of the German and Irishman or of their direct descendants.

The present struggle between the South and North is therefore nothing but a struggle of two social systems, the system of slavery and the system of free labor. Because the two systems can no longer live peacefully side by side on the North American continent, the struggle has broken out. It can only be ended by the victory of the one or the other system.

If the border states, the disputed territories wherein both systems hitherto struggled for supremacy, are a thorn in the flesh of the South, it cannot be denied, on the other hand, that in the course of the war up till now, they constituted the chief weakness of the North.* A part of the slaveholders in these districts feigned loyalty to the North at the command of the conspirators in the South; in fact, another part of the same found it in accord with their real interests and traditional concepts to go with the Union. Both have equally crippled the North. Anxiety of keeping the loyal slaveholders of the border states in good humor, fear of throwing them into the arms of secession, in a word, tender consideration for the interests, prejudices and sensibilities of these equivocal allies has struck the Union government with incurable weakness from the beginning of the war, drove it to half measures, forced it hypocritically to conceal the principle of the war and to spare the most vulnerable spot of the opponent, the root of the evil—slavery itself.

If recently Lincoln has still faint-heartedly revoked Fremont's Missouri proclamation for the emancipation of the negroes belonging to the rebels,** it merely happened out of consideration for the loud protest of the "loyal" slaveholders of Kentucky. Meanwhile, a turning point has already set in. With Kentucky, the last border state has been pressed into the series of battlefields between South and North.

With the actual war for the border states taking place within the border states themselves, their gain or loss as the sphere of diplomatic and parliamentary negotiations is removed. One part

*Compare Marx to Engels, August, 1862, "Der Briefwechsel, etc.", vol. 3, p. 83-84.

**On August 30, 1861, General John Charles Fremont, who had been sent to Missouri, issued a proclamation, dated at St. Louis, establishing martial law throughout the State and declaring that all the property of all Missourians who had taken up or would take arms against the United States was or should be confiscated and their slaves declared free men. "On September 2," according to Channing, "Lincoln wrote to Fremont that the confiscation of slaves would alarm the Southern Union men and, perhaps, ruin the Union prospects in Kentucky. Hs asked Fremont to modify his proclamation 'as of your own motion'. As Fremont refused to do this, Lincoln modified the proclamation himself on September 11, and some time thereafter removed Fremont to another sphere of activity . . ." (Edward Channing: A History of the United States, Vol. VI, New York, 1925, p. 530.)

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of the slaveholders will throw off its mask of loyalty, the other will be contented with the hope of a money indemnity, such as Great Britain gave the West Indian planters.* The events themselves press forward to the proclamation of the decisive watchword—The *Emancipation of the Slaves.*

To what an extent even the most obdurate Democrats and diplomats of the North feel themselves drawn to this point is shown by some of the most recent demonstrations. General Cass, minister of war under Buchanan and hitherto one of the most zealous allies of the South, declared it in an open cricular to be the conditio sine qua non of the salvation of the Union. Dr. *Browson,* the leader of the Catholic Party of the North and according to his own admission the most energetic opponent of the emancipation movement from 1836-1860, published an article in his last Review for October *for* abolition.

"If, among other things, we struggled against abolition," he says, "as long as we considered the Union to be threatened by it, we must now come out all the more determinedly against the continuation of slavery, since we have convinced ourselves that to continue slavery longer is incompatible with the preservation of the Union or of our nation as a free republic." Finally, the *World,* a New York organ of the diplomats of the Washington Cabinet, concludes one of its last blustering articles against the abolitinoists with the words:

"On the day when it will be determined that either slavery or the Union must fall, on that day will the death sentence of slavery be spoken. If the North cannot win *without* emancipation, it will win *with* emancipation."

*In 1833 England purchased and set free the slaves in her West Indian colonies. The Civil War in America, however, was "a very depressing fact for the people who a few years ago expended twenty million pounds sterling for the emancipation of the Negroes in their own colonies". (Marx). The reason for this as for the pro-Southern sympathies of the official English press Marx indicated in his letter to Lassalle of May 29, 1861: "The entire official English press," he wrote, "is naturally for the slaveholders. They are the same fellows who have tired the world with their anti-slave trade philanthropy. But cotton, cotton!"

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Marx and the Vienna "Presse."

AMERICAN Marxists have much for which to be grateful to Dr. Max Friedlaender and the Vienna "Presse". Had Friedlaender not requested Marx to write on the civil war in America, the articles would probably never have been written, and we would have had to content ourselves with the unorganized, but more or less extensive, fragments contained in the Marx-Engels correspondence. Fortunately, however, Marx *was* invited to send his contributions; and now we shall also be able to read a few of them in English translation.

Six years before his agreement to write the articles on the American Civil War for the Vienna "Presse", Marx had had occasion to write for Friedlaender in another connection. In 1855 Friedlaender co-operated with Moritz Elsner and Dr. Julius Stein, leaders of the old Silesian democracy, in editing the "Neue Oderzeitung", the last democratic organ in Breslau, which they took over at that time. The newspaper, which was rapidly losing its readers and dying for lack of subscribers, tried, among other things, to hold on to them by means of original contributions from foreign correspondents.1 Marx became its London correspondent, undoubtedly via Lassalle who must have drawn the attention of his uncle, Friedlaender, to him. He received thirty German dollars (Thaler) a month for his activity which did not last very long. On October, 1855, Elsner wrote him, stating that he could stop sending his letters since every source of help was now closed to the paper and the "Neue Oderzeitung" would have to cease publication by the end of the year, as it actually did.

Two years later, December 17, 1857, Lassalle, who had written three letters to Marx without receiving any reply, wrote once more, stating: " . . . . At the beginning of this month, I received the enclosed note from my uncle, Dr. M. Friedlaender, the same who was formerly editor of the "Neue Oderzeitung", and has now become the second editor of the 'Presse' in Vienna. Then it occurred to me to get your address through my local publishing concern, and

1. Compare Gustav Mayer's "Ferdinand Lassalle. Nachgelassene Briefe und Schriften." Vol. 3 (Berlin, 1922), p. 87, footnote. Mayer further refers to Rjazanov for detailed information. Also Mehring's Marx-Engels-Lassalle Nachgelassene Schriften (Stuttgart, 1902), Vol. 4, p. 104, the note to Lassalle's letter to Marx of January 7, 1855.

2. On January 7, 1855, Lassalle writes to Marx: "Since I wrote you my last letter, I have heard nothing from my uncle. Recently, however, I found a London correspondence in the 'Neue Oderzeitung' with the sign X, which, according to style and content must come from you in any case. And so I conclude that everything is in order." (Mayer's edition, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 87.)

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behold, I succeeded! Let us hope it is right! So I am sending you Max's note. I do not know the present attitude of the 'Presse' at all, and hence am unable to judge in any way whether you will be able to enter into my uncle's plan.3 If, however, this seems possible to you, I would advise you under all circumstances to demand an *extremely high* fee. For the 'Presse' doubtless has very large means at its disposal and—for that reason I am including Max's letter—the matter of price does not seem to stand in his way."4

Marx replied in less than a week in a letter dated December 21, 1857; but because of the gaps in the original which is reprinted in the Marx-Lassalle correspondence published by Mayer, it is difficult to make out his answer. The following sentences, however, undoubtedly refer to the Vienna "Presse". "Besides," he writes, "I do not know the paper at all, since there is not an Austrian journal to be had anywhere here, hence know nothing of its general tendency. In any case, I would be interested to see a few numbers of it."5 Less than two months later, on February 10, 1858, Lassalle writes back and from his reply it becomes clear that Marx did not accept the offer. "I had really thought of your reply to my uncle's request beforehand," he says, "and communicated it to him beforehand almost verbatim as your probable statement. Nevertheless, I did not consider it absolutely impossible that you might accede to the request of the 'Presse'. For even if the 'Presse' understands its 'anti-French' (attitude) in such a way that it is identical with 'pro-England', that would still not have to be determinated for you. It would perhaps be sufficient if you wrote 'anti-French' (i. e., anti-'Napoleonic') articles, which you could do perfectly well without letting yourself out in explicit words on the pro-or anti-English, only indicating your intention here. Negatively agreed with you, and in order to have you at all, upon which it seemed to lay great value, the 'Presse' would perhaps have satisfied itself with this and agreed to it. To be sure, matters would surely have bobbed up soon enough which would have led to conflicts. In consequence of your refusal, then, and my sickness, I did not write further to my uncle at all, because the matter is dissolved of its own accord. Nevertheless, if you still want me to write him anything else, let me know."6

On February 22, 1858, Marx replied to Lassalle's letter, saying: "As for your uncle, I would be ready for one thing, but for which

3. N. Rjazanov (who often signs himself D. Riazanov) published an article on "Karl Marx and the Vienna 'Presse'" in the Vienna "Kampf" for March 1, 1913 where several of Marx's articles on the Civil War in America are reproduced. The "Kampf", however, is practically inacessible to Americans outside of New York whose public library, I believe, has the only file of the magazine in the country.

4. Mayer's edition, op. cit. vol. 3, p. 109. All references to the Lassalle correspondence are to this edition, unless otherwise indicated.

5. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 111.

6. ibid. p. 112-113.

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I assume again that the 'Presse' is not ready. To wit: all that I could engage to do would be a weekly article on commerce, finance, etc., on the three countries, England, France, and the United States of America, according to whether it is interesting. This is also the *best possible* form of attacking Bonaparte. Further, it is the form in which I would have absolutely nothing to do politically with the 'Presse'. At this moment great ignorance especially concerning French financial conditions and the French economic situation in general seems to me to predominate. The question is whether the 'Presse' or rather its readers are sufficiently interested in the matter. For such an article weekly, I would demand 1 pound sterling. Besides, several numbers of the 'Presse' would have to be sent me beforehand so that I could see whether my principles would at all permit me to work on the paper. However, that may be, thank your uncle in my name for being so friendly as to remember me on the occasion."7 In less than two weeks, on March 3, 1858, Lassalle informs Marx of his intention to transmit the latter's proposal to his uncle. "I shall write my uncle your proposition these days," he says.8

But nothing came of the entire matter. And we do not hear of it again until a year later when Lassalle writes to Marx at the end of March, 1859, saying: "My uncle, Dr. Max Friedlaender, now editor of the 'Presse' in Vienna, has been here these days and still is. He makes the following proposition to you. Hitherto he has been receiving the telegraphic dispatches coming from London through Paris. He asks whether you can telegraph them to him directly from London. Your fee for each dispatch would be 15 francs; he would of course, provide you with the necessary means in some way for paying the telegraphic costs. The entire task that is incumbent upon you is only this: to procure the telegraphic dispatches, which is your affair, but which you ought to be able to do very easily if you are acquainted with the Times or with other large sheets.

"My uncle further comes back to his proposition that you should write letters for the 'Presse'. The 'Presse' now has 24,000 subscribers and his, as he says, the most democratic journal in Austria, stubbornly hostile in its opposition to the government and owing its great bloom to this very fact. In material respect, it is not hindered by considerations of expense and would therefore also like to utilize the most distinguished intellectual forces for itself.

"The content of your letters would be: God and the world, that is, *anything you like.* This today, that tomorrow. Everything that seems interesting to you. The fee per letter always 24 francs, *immaterial how long or short it be.* (If you want a larger fee just

7. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 115-116. 8. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 118.

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write me. I believe that under no circumstances would he let the matter go because of that.) As for the number of letters, you can, if you wish, write one *each day* and again *nothing for four weeks.*"9

Lassalle himself had been made a similar glowing offer. But in view of the former attitude of the paper, he was in doubt whether to accept. "The worst of the matter," he wrote, "is that a judgement in concrete on this depends mainly upon the *attitude* the Presse has maintained *hitherto* and I have *never* even seen a single number of it. You, to be sure, have, nisi fallor, been receiving copies for a time which Max sent to London, and have, therefore, even if for a short time, followed it, are therefore competent to form a judgment."10

The prospect of a new source of income was alluring in view of the great distress in which Marx and his family found themselves. Upon Lassalle's request for an answer within eight days, Marx replied at once, writing on March 28, 1859. "Ad vocem Telegraph," he writes, "I accept the offer." Here was a possibility which he could not ignore; and the detail of his reply indicates how much Marx hoped from this new engagement. "Ad vocem 'Presse'," he writes further, "I accept this offer likewise: *First,* because, unlike the time before, no conditions are made in reference to the treatment of particular political characters. It is an absolute principle with me never to have anything to do with a *condition.* On the other hand, every newspaper may lay claim to the tact of its correspondent. *Secondly,* because times have changed and I consider it essential that our Party take position wherever it can, were it only temporarily, in order that others might not take possession of the terrain. In the meanwhile, it of course can only be made use of with care, but the important thing is to secure influence at diverse points for more decisive periods of time. The 'Presse' which you say Friedlaender sent me, I never received, probably on account of false address. Moreover, several numbers would have to be sent me at once; one must see from the paper itself *how* one is to write for the Vienese public, not *what.*"11

On April 8, 1859, Lassalle informs Marx that he will receive a reply directly from his uncle. "In accord with your recent letter in reference to the 'Presse'," he says, "I was able to write to my uncle only the day before yesterday . . . . You will get an answer directly from him."12 But the reply that Marx received was quite disappointing. In a letter written to Marx on April 12, 1859, a summary of which is given by Mehring who had the letter in his hands, Friedlaender denies all the conditions agreed upon with Lassalle, greatly lowers the fee for correspondence and telegrams, wants

9. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 163-164.
10. Ibid.
11. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 169-170.
12. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 172.

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only one letter a week and reminds Marx that the "Presse" is indeed a liberal paper, but "only insofar as this is allowed in Austria."13

Nevertheless, Marx was ready to accept the offer just the same. But as his letter to Lassalle three weeks after the receipt of Friedlaender's note indicates, Marx once more failed to find employment with the "Presse". "From the enclosed letter of April 12, which I beg you to return to me," he writes, "you will see that there is a very esential difference between the conditions your uncle Friedlaender offered me and the conditions which you originally communicated to me. Nevertheless, I accepted by return mail. I merely remarked: 1. that I could not make the outlay for the telegrams; a thing which, moreover, was self-understood and was anticipated in your letter. 2. That it would be desirable (I did not, however, make a conditio sine qua out of this), if we came to an agreement that, as is the case with the Tribune, I be able to draw upon a local banker for the articles, etc., sent off.

"Since then I have received no answer, which surprises me. In case the editors have somebody else in mind, decency would demand that they inform me of it. You know that I in no way ran after the thing. But once I took it over, I took a few preparatory steps with English newspapers, etc., and I do not exactly wish to compromise myself with these people and other acquaintances to whom I communicated the matter from considerations of business. That I, on my side, have not yet sent an article is natural, since no definite engagement has yet taken place."14

Lassalle himself suffered the same fate at the hands of his uncle. Not only did Friedlaender fail to reply to his letters, but after sending him the "Presse" for a few days, even stopped sending this. Friedlaender's breach of faith embittered Lassalle against him, and in the middle of May, 1859, he writes Marx, saying: "What you write me about my uncle has vexed me very much. He has thereby very much misused my kindness and I shall not forget it. Moreover, his conduct towards you is only an analogy to his behavior towards me and just because of that I can really do nothing at all in the matter."15

Two years later, on the occasion of the civil war in America, and at a time when Marx's financial distress made any income welcome, Friedlaender approached him again with a request for articles on the developments in America. Both Marx and Engels had been exchanging opinions on the American situation in the course of their correspondence; and since Marx was really very much interested in it; he welcomed the opportunity which the "Presse" now held out

13. Mehring: Marx - Engels - Lassalle Nachlass. Bd. IV, S. 214-15.

14. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 176. (May 5, 1859).

15. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 178.

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to him. In a letter of June 10, 1861, Marx tells Engels of Friedlaender's new proposition. "Today," he writes, "I received a letter from Vienna: Friedlaender wants two articles from me, one on the situation in America (where I am briefly to summarize, politically and militarily, the entire dirt for one or two leaders) and one on the stuation in England. Later he will then (id est, after the receipt of these articles) make more detailed proposals and indeed, I am to get 1 pound sterling for every article, 10 shillings for mere correspondence. According to German standards, this is well paid, and I must agree to do it, for one must live. Since I would like to send the two sample articles off this very week, you must prepare the military part on America for me. I shall then work it up together with the political."16

But though Engels responded at once, it does not seem as if Marx wrote the requested articles at that time, the transaction materializing only five months later. He had first to assure himself that the political character of the paper allowed him to co-operate with it. And while the attitude of the "Presse" kept him from co-operating with it in June, a change of position opened the path for such co-operation in October. On the twenty-eighth of September, 1861, Marx writes to Engels, stating: "The Vienna "Presse," as I see from the Times correspondence of the day before yesterday, has finally executed a turn against Schmerling and perhaps it will now become possible to connect up with the paper."17 And on October 30, 1861, after telling Engels about the renewal of his Tribune contributions, Marx states: "Secondly, I had already written to the Vienna "presse" for 'information' from Manchester. About three weeks ago I received an answer which, *politically*, was quite sufficient for me. (The paper has modified its Schmerling-attitude in the meantime). At the same time, Friedlaender, (on account of the pressure of his proprietor), requested two sample articles. These I have already sent and received a reply yesterday morning, 1, that the articles appeared with appropriate advertising at the head of the paper; 2, that I am regularily engaged from November on, 1 pound sterling per article, 10 shillings per correspondence."18 And by November 18, 1861, Marx is able to report to Engels: "To the 'Presse' I write almost daily."19

The articles which Marx thus wrote for the "Presse" are conveniently listed in Ernst Drahn's "Marx-Bibliographie" which, by the way, is extremely useful for rapid orientation. Without mentioning all of them, the chief ones are as follows: "Der nordameri-

16. "Der Briefwechsel z. Engels u. Marx" Herausgegeben von Bebel und Bernstein, Stuttgart, 1913. Bd. 3, S. 23.
17. ibid. p. 36.
18. op. cit. vol. 3, p. 38.
19. ibid. p. 40.

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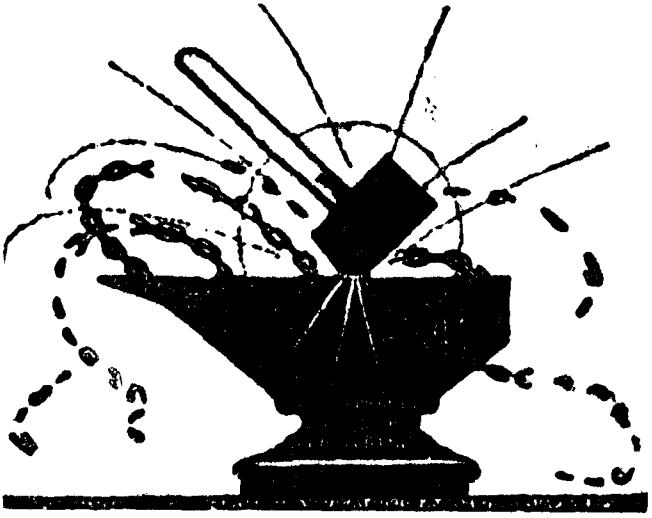
kanische Buergerkrieg (October 25, 1861); "Der Buergerkrieg in den Vereinigten Staaten (November 7, 1861); "Amerikanische Angelegenheiten (March 3, 1862); "Der amerikanische Buergerkrieg (March 26, 1862); Zur Kritik der Dinge in Amerika" (August 9, 1862); "Zur Lage in Nordamerika" (November 10, 1862). All of the articles, it will be noticed, fall in the first part of the war. Nevertheless, they represent the attitude which Marx maintained throughout.

It is to be regretted that these articles have not been published in English before and that it is not yet possible to publish them in the form of a separate English edition. We look forward to such an edition, which would do well to contain everything that Marx and Engels have written on the American Civil War, in the near future.20

20. The present translations were made from manuscript copies which Comrade Max Bedacht brought from the Marx-Engels Institute at Moscow. We hope that further manuscripts soon find their way to this country.



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The World Struggle for Rubber.

By LEON PLATT.

(Continued from last issue.)

9. United States Rubber Plantations in Liberia.

AS was already shown the world's rubber plantations are under the control of foreign capital. The United States controls an insignificant part of the world's rubber and is dependent on foreign supply. In the last year many attempts were made by the United States rubber manufacturers to produce their own rubber and free themselves of foreign monopoly. Commissions were sent to all countries of the rubber belt to investigate the possibilities of rubber growing. One of these commissions visited Liberia, and reported favorably on the possibilities of future rubber production in that country.

Harvey Firestone took the initiative in the development of rubber plantations in Liberia. This marks the beginning of the entry of Amercan imperialism into the exploitation of foreign rubber fields on a large scale. Liberia is a little black republic with a population of two million. It is situated on the Atlantic coast of South West Africa. Mr. Firestone obtained from the Liberian government a concession of a million acres, to be exploited for rubber plantations. This little country is in a very backward stage, having only fifty miles of roads and although situated on the Atlantic coast it has no big ports to accommodate big vessels. To develop the million acre concession Mr. Firestone will employ 350,000 Liberians. He will develop the country's commercial and industrial resources. In addition to that, arrangements have been made for the floatation of a five million dollar loan to the government of Liberia.

Why did Mr. Firestone pick on Liberia for rubber plantations? According to the New York Times of June 17, 1925, the reasons are the following:

1. The Liberian will work for less than the laborer in Malay. The labor cost will be 50 per cent less than in the Malay Peninsula.

2. The United States has a moral protectorate if not a direct protectorate over Liberia.

No interpretations are necessary to the above. The United States rubber trust wants to make the little negro republic an American colony. The following factors will successfully accomplish their aims:

The provisions of the loan include supervision of the country's

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custom receipts and in fact supervision over the entire financial regime with American experts acting in the most important capacities. Direct colonization and military supervison of the country's affairs.

The following was recommended by Dr. Johnson, minister to Liberia (1918-1922):

> An American naval base and coaling station should be established on the Liberian coast. . . . . is essential to the success of the Firestone concession in Liberia. (Rubber Age, Nov. 10, 1925.)

At present Liberia is virtually considered an American protectorate. According to the plans of the American rubber imperialists Liberia will completely lose its political and economic independence.

As regards the conditions under which the 350,000 will toil on the American plantations this can be said: According to Mr. Firestone the native Liberian will work for less than the native Malayan. He can get all the labor he wants for 24c per day. The cost of living in Liberia is not less than in the Malayan Peninsula, but the wages of the Liberian worker will be less than the Malayan. We know the conditions of labor in the Middle East, now we can see what are the conditions of the Liberian rubber workers.

10. Rubber and the Philippine Islands.

In 1923 the United States congress appointed a commission to investigate the possibilities of rubber growing in the Philippine Islands. In addition to that Mr. Firestone made a personal investigation regarding the same matter. It was reported that the Philippines are suitable for rubber production, especially the Mindao islands where 1,500,00 acres could be utilized for rubber plantations. It was stated that in exploiting the Philippines full possibilities of rubber growing, the islands could supply America's needs of rubber in a period of 6 to 8 years. However up to the present time no rubber plantations on a large scale were exploited by American capital. This can be explained for two reasons:

1. An important and necessary factor in the development of rubber plantations is an abundant supply of cheap labor. The wages of the Filipino laborer is relatively higher than the Liberian and Chinese coolie. In the Middle East the question is solved by importing Chinese coolies to work on the rubber plantations. The Philippine legislature not wanting to lower the standards of living of the Philippine workers to the status of a coolie, prohibited the immigration of oriental labor into the Philippine Islands:

2. The rubber plantations in the Middle East embrace areas of hundreds of thousands of acres. This privilege the American capitalists cannot enjoy in the Philippine Islands. According to the Jones law the jurisdiction over the land is intrusted into the hands of the Philippine legislature, which has limited the ownership of

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land by individuals or corporations to 2,500 acres. The passage of these laws by the Philippine legislature, and its resistance to the attempted changes, are given by Manuel Quezon, president of the Philippine Senate.

> The reasons for our attitude (against changing the land laws. L. P.) are both political and social. Politically we fear that the ownership of large tracts of lands by American capital would increase the opposition to our further independence and perhaps actually prevent congress from granting it.

Unfortunately the Philippine Islands are blessed with rich natural resources and their soil is suitable for rubber plantations of which America is in such great need. To break the stubborn resistance of the "uncivilized" Filipinos who do not want to be exploited by American capitalism. The American imperialists suggest the following:

> Mr. Hariman (president of the Hariman National Bank) holds that two important legal steps are all that is necessary to insure the cultivation of rubber in the Philippines on a large scale. The first he said is to convert the islands into a territory of the sort that was made out of Hawaii, Porto Rico, Panama and Alaska. American capital, the New York banker asserts, would flow into the Philippines as soon as territorial status guarantees stability of government.
>
> The second step, Mr. Hariman says, would be the change of the Philippine land laws, so that unlimited acquisition of territory would be available for the rubber industry's needs. (Science Monitor, Nov. 1, 1925.)

Today there is a bill before congress, introduced by representative Bacon of New York, which would secede the Mindanao Islands, Pallawan, Bazila and Lulu Archipelago from the Philippines, and put them under direct American cantrol.

Under the pretext of developing the industrial and natural resources of the islands, President Coolidge sent a personal representative to the Philippines. Colonel Thompson, president of the Tod-Stambough Iron Ore Co. and a member of the "Ohio Gang" in his official report, accepted by President Coolidge, published in the New York Times on December 23, 1926, the status of the islands was definitely defined. No longer can the Filipino people have any illusions of getting their immediate independence. The second of his twelve proposals reads:

> That the granting of absolute independence to the Philippines be postponed for some time to come . . . .

In general Colonel Thompson's report accomplishes the wishes of Mr. Harriman, and turns the Philippine Islands into a territory like which we made of Porto Rico, Alaska, Panama, etc. . . . In his third proposal he recommends that the United States govern-

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ment creates a special department—a colonial office to rule the Philippines as well as all our other over sea possessions. The tenth proposal is:

> That the Philippine legislature should amend the Philippine land laws . . . . so as to bring about such conditions as will attract capital and business experience for the development of the production of rubber, coffee and other tropical products, some of which are now controlled by monopolies.

However, the most vivid expression of dollar diplomacy is said in the twelfth proposal.

> That the Philippine government withdraw from private business at an earliest possible date.

Although this recommendation, was already accomplished by the act of the Governor General Leonard Wood, in abolishing the Philippine control board on November 10, 1926. This body where the Filipinos were in a majority control all government owned corporations including the Philippine National Bank, Manila Railroad Company, National Development Company, National Coal Company and other corporations. Governor General Wood will now be able to transfer these Philippine owned corporations into the hands of Wall Street.

11. The American Rubber Industry.

America being the world's largest consumer of raw rubber is naturally the world's largest producer of rubber goods. Not only is the United States rubber industry the world's largest, but it is also, one of our most important national industrial enterprises. In 1923 were registered 529 establishments producing rubber products, of a total value of $958,517,034, employing 137,868 wage earners. In 1925, 150 establishments were producing automobile tires consuming 330,000 tons of rubber as against 268,446 tons in 1924, an increase of nearly 14 per cent. In the tire production 120,000 factory workers were employed. The largest rubber producing center in the United States is Akron, Ohio, known as the "rubber city". Then comes the rubber shoe and boot industry. In 1925, were registered 25 establishments producing boots and shoes in the United States. The number of wage earners employed was 24,999. The total value of the product produced in 1925, was $115,934,854.

Besides the production for the home market, the United States does a great export business. The export of products in 1925 amounted to $51,343,898. In addition to the large rubber industry in the United States, American capital controls the rubber industry of Canada. In 1924, Canada produced $57,411,446 worth of rubber

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manufactures. Of the principal 23 rubber factories in the Dominion of Canada, 18 are owned and operated by American capital as subsidiaries of Amercian rubber concerns. The 18 factories produced 75 per cent of the total amount of rubber goods manufactured in the Dominion of Canada.

The rubber industry here is highly concentrated. These who practically control the industry are the "Big Five": The United States Rubber Co., Goodyear Rubber Co., Goodrich Rubber Co., Firestone Rubber & Tire Co. and Fisk Rubber Co. The combined business of the "Big Five" for the year 1925 was $712,681,748 with a net profit after payment of taxes and preferred divdiends, but before common dividends of $70,027,379.

12. Labor Conditions in the United States Rubber Industry.

The wages of the American rubber workers do not demonstrate that the workers share in the present day American prosperity. According to the census of manufacturers of 1923 the average yearly wage earned by an American rubber worker is $1,321 or $25 per week. The average for women workers in 1924 was $16.09 per week. This is a general view of the conditions of the rubber workers. The United States Department of Labor made an investigation on the industrial poisons used in the rubber industry, the following was revealed through that investigation.

In the rubber industry of the United States are employed a great number of women and girls. In the manufacture of small articles and footwear the women workers form 50 per cent to 60 per cent of the force. In the manufacture of tires the majority of workers are men, with a great number of young boys. The men and women employed in the rubber industry are for the most part unskilled and a great number of them are of foreign birth. With the exception of certain crafts the workers earn their wages on the piece work rate.

Regarding the conditions of the rubber workers the following is reported:

> The working day is usually ten hours, sometimes twelve hours. The night shift is 12 to 12½ hours. In rare instances there are three shifts of 8 hours each. (U. S. Department of Labor Statistics Bulletin No. 179. Industrial Poisons Used in the Rubber Industry.)

Now regarding the sanitary conditions and health protection.

> American rubber factories, even those who are in other respects admirably constructed and managed, are almost without exception lacking the proper protection of workmen against poisons. In consequence the industry is much unhealthful in this country than need to be. (I. B. I. D., p. 5.)

Although this investigation was made in 1915 the conditions of

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the American rubber workers has not changed. In the first six months of 1924, 1602 accidents occurred in the rubber industry. The employers of the large factories in Akron have established sick and death benefit societies, other aid organizations, quarter of a century service pin clubs, branches of the Y. M. C. A., sports' clubs and other schemes of Company unionism. Some plants like the Goodyear, Goodrich, Firestone have established plans and profit sharing through stock ownership. All this is a substitute for real trade unions and a decent living wage. As stated by the employers the purpose of the pension and stock ownership is to obtain efficient service. The employee owned stock in the United States Rubber Co. amounts to $6,521,935 while the total assets of the company are $322,955,786.61.

13. Anglo-American Relations and the Rubber Conflict.

The Stevenson Restriction Act aroused great indignation among the American rubber manufacturers. Official protest was made by the United States government. A wide publicity campaign was launched through the country. Public opinion was aroused on the charge, that the British producers demand exhorbitant profits from the American consumers. That the American automobiles will soon be found useless for the lack of rubber tires, etc., etc. The one to champion the cause of the American Rubber Trust was Mr. Hoover, secretary of the United States Department of Commerce. As a matter of fact it was not the American Rubber manufacturers who suffered from the high price of raw rubber. At least their increased profits do not show that. The increased price of rubber tires and all other rubber articles followed in proportion to, and in some cases exceeded the increased price of raw rubber. Four reasons can explain the rubber alarm raised in this country by the rubber trust.

1. In case of war with Great Britain the United States will be cut from its rubber supplies.

2. The desire of the American Rubber manufacturers to grow their own rubber under the American flag or in countries where investments would be safe.

3. Secretary Hoover's political motives.

4. The possibility for Great Britain for repaying her war debts from the profits of high priced rubber.

The first are undisputable facts. It shows that America and England will not for long remain on good terms. The ambitions of Mr. Hoover for the next presidential elections are very well known. The pretext for protecting the American rubber users against the British foreign monopoly as well as against the other foreign monopolies on raw materials widely used in the United

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States, will add greatly to the popularity of the commerce secretary.

It was charged by the investigation of the Interstate Commerce Commission that the United States overpaid $300,000,000 for the rubber used in 1925. To break the British and all other foreign monopolies the American Bankers will withhold loans to these countries.

The high tariff wall that was created by the United States against foreign made commodities is also charged as a kind of restriction act against the industries of foreign countries. It was worthwhile to recall the fact, that the same Washington officials who now denounce the voluntary restriction of rubber output in the British possessions were endeavoring in 1922 to force the Cuban sugar planters to curtail production in order that the domestic beet and cane growers might exact higher prices. At the time when this article is written the Southern Bankers' Federation recommends the restriction of the cotton acreage in all parts of the cotton belt, to prevent the decline in the price of cotton, which was resulted from the great cotton crop. The restriction of production is not only prescribed to Great Britain it is a common characteristic of all capitalist monopolies and trustification of industry.

14. The Price of Rubber and the Stevenson Restriction Act.

At the beginning we emphasized the difference of rubber from all other important raw materials in respect to production, profit yielding, etc. . . . . There is yet another characteristic of rubber not possessed by any other raw material. This is the price.

In the last decade simultaneously with the increased production and consumption of the important raw materials followed the increased price of these raw materials. The reverse was in the case of rubber. While commodities as a whole advanced from an index of 100 in 1913 to 242 in 1920 the price of rubber dropped from the index of 100 to 41.

To illustrate this fact more clearly we will compare the price with oil, in as much as the increased consumption and production of both is due to a common factor.

1913 Petroleum production	100	Price.....100
1913 Rubber production	100	Price.....100
1925 Petroleum consumption	304	Price.....179
1925 Rubber consumption	768	Price..... 71

The reason for this is found in the fact that up to 1913 rubber production was not really an industry. Rubber gathering was more an adventure. And the price of it was not determined by any economic factor. The average price of rubber during the war years was 58c per pound. Such prices brought great returns.

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The period of high prices was followed by a great expansion of rubber plantations in the Dutch East Indies and the British producing territories. As a result of overproduction and because of the after war crisis in the capitalist economic machine the price of rubber declined to 22c in 1922. This was a threat to the British plantation owners. His Majesty's Government, therefore appointed a commission to help to save the industry. A plan was adopted by the Colonial Office (known as the Stevenson Plan) which restricted the export of rubber. The provisions of the plan were as follows: Rubber exported from the territories under the British Flag in excess of 60 per cent based on the production of 1920 will be taxed on a gradual basis up to 24c per pound. Rubber exported under 60 per cent will be taxed ½c per pound. The purpose of this export restriction according to the British Government is to keep the price of rubber at 30c to 36c per pound. The true fact was that during some periods in 1925 the price was $1.10 per pound. At present the restriction is lowered to 80 per cent of the 1920 production.

15. Profits in the Rubber Industry.

According to Harvey Firestone, the rubber industry is the best paying enterprise. The returns of the various rubber companies demonstrate that the dividends paid are as high as in steel, oil and other well paying industries. The profits in the rubber industry are classified into two categories.

1. Profits from the rubber plantations.
2. Profits from the rubber manufacturing concerns.

The average price of rubber during the three years of existence of the restriction act, was 32c per pound. The periodically increased price of the raw product reflected itself on the increased price of tires and other rubber goods at a rate of 60 to 65 per cent. The cost of production of raw rubber varies with the different territories. A pound of rubber produced in Ceylon costs 13.4c, in Malay 15.1c, in the Dutch East Indies 17.4c, in Borneo 16.5c. The selling price of rubber price on the New York market today is 44c per pound. pound.

Beginning with 1909 the annual profits of the plantation owners over a period of 14 years was 26 per cent on the issued capital. During that period the issued capital was earned three and half times. For the year 1925 the Malay planters declared a dividend of 50 per cent. The British Rubber companies according to the London Financier paid an average yearly dividend of 200 per cent for the period of 1910-1920.

The profits of the American Rubber companies are of the same rate as of the British plantation owners, of which we can be convinced the yearly reports of the leading rubber concerns in the United States.

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Profits of the American Manufacturers of Rubber Products.

	1923	1924	1925
*The Goodyear Rubber & Tire Co.	$10,775.537	$14,318,844	$17,647,461
*B. F. Goodrich Co.	3,025,984	9,822,504	16,774,448
*United States Rubber Co.	12,161,055	13,783,904	17,309,870
Ajax Rubber Co.	560,000	664,000	1,005,000
Dayton Rubber Mfg. Co.	170,000	302,000	464,000
Firestone Tire & Rubber Co.	6,105,000	8,117,000	12,800,000
Fisk Rubber Co.	2,584,000	3,127,000	6,109,000
General Tire & Rubber Co.	1,200,000	1,500,000	1,843,000
India Tire & Rubber Co.	110,000	419,000	471,000
Kelly Springfield	1,166,000	1,526,000	1,453,000
Lee Rubber & Tire Co.	72,000	234,000	300,000
Miller Rubber Co.	2,050,000	2,217,000	2,673,000
Mohawk Rubber Co.	.....	237,000	581,000
Norwalk Tire & Rubber Co.	112,000	125,000	413,000
Seiberling Rubber Co.	13,000	806,000	1,245,000

American Bankers' Association Journal, Sept. 1926.

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*Information of the profits are collected from the India Rubber World.

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BOOK REVIEWS

"THE NEGRO IN AMERICAN LIFE." By Jerome Dowd. The Century Co., New York.

ALMOST without exception, "The Negro in American Life" has been hailed by the capitalist reviewers as a real contribution to the literature on this question—as a complete, impartial, and thoroughly scientific piece of work. But these laudations are entirely unwarranted.

Professor Dowd's book is incomplete, is written from a prejudiced viewpoint, and is one of the most childishly pseudo-scientific pieces of work that I have seen.

"The Negro in American Life" is an excellent example of the confusion that follows when a man ignorant of the class basis of a society tries to analyze a problem rooted in the class nature of that society.

Professor Dowd discusses the question of the Negro and the trade unions, with no mention of the efforts of groups of Negro workers, barred from the existing unions, to form their own—for example, the Pullman porters. These attempts indicate the ripeness of the Negro for industrial struggle.

Professor Dowd gives two pages to the cropper and renter system of agriculture in the South, as against four pages devoted to the spiritual maunderings of some preacher. Says Mr. Dowd: "The class of Negro tenants who have to be furnished with supplies . . . are generally thriftless and migratory, and need close supervision. They are prone to spend every Saturday at the nearest town, to drive their mules to death on Sunday, to abandon their crops at a critical stage, to go off on an excursion . . . They are careless with tools, wasteful of supplies . . . The well-being of this class is in proportion to the intelligence and strictness of the paternal control. control.

What is the truth of the matter? The conditions force the renter and share-cropper into a position little short of peonage. The majority of Negro farm laborers in the South start work with no capital—for where should they get it? Both the share-cropper and the renter must be "furnished", first with land, then with horse or mule, tools, food, clothing, household supplies. These materials are bought from the land-owner or the merchant—often these two are one person—on credit, at high prices. For this privilege the tenant executes a chattel mortgage on house, mule and crops. The merchant or land-owner keeps the records, practically never giving the tenant an accounting. The result of this system is that the tenant is always in debt to the owner—that is, according to the owner's calculations—and must stay where he is to work out that debt. The next year, of course, he is probably even deeper in debt. Du Bois has written of this group of farmers: (1)

> "So skilfully and so closely has he (the landlord—P. H.) drawn the bonds of the law about the tenant, that the black man has often simply to choose between pauperism and crime; he waves all homestead exemptions in his contract; he cannot touch his own mortgaged crop, which the laws put almost in the full control of the landowner and of the merchant. When the crop is growing the merchant watches it like a hawk; as soon as it is ready for market he takes possession of it, sells it, pays the landowner his rent, subtracts his bill for supplies . . . .

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"Every economic advantage of the price of cotton in market and of the strivings of the tenant has been taken advantage of by the landlords and merchants, and swallowed up in rent and interest. If cotton rose in price, the rent rose even higher; if cotton fell, the rent remained or followed reluctantly. If a tenant worked hard and raised a large crop, his rent was raised the next year; if that year the crop failed, his corn was confiscated and his mule sold for debt. There were, of course, exceptions to this . . . . but in the vast majority of cases the rule was to extract the utternost farthing from the mass of the black farm laborers . . . . on this low plane . . . . perhaps more than half the black millions of this land are today struggling."

DuBois, The Sales of Black Folk, p. 154.

At least one race-riot, that of Elaine, Arkansas, in 1919, had its roots in the attempt of Negro tenant-farmers to get an accounting from the landowners.

Professor Dowd discusses the question of lynching "for rape" without any suggestion that very few Negroes indeed, accused of rape have ever committed it.

The discussion of the part played by the Negro in the world war fails to mention the effects on the Negro masses of the promises of betterment given the race when the United States entered. The Negro was made to believe that the world war was the acid test of his loyalty, and that a redress of grievances would follow if he took his place in the army. The fact that these promises came to nothing was unquestionably a factor in the post-war radicalism of the Negro.

Professor Dowd wholly fails to understand the importance of the migrations of Negroes to the North during the past fifteen years. He says: "The attention which the Northward Negro migration has attracted is out of proportion to its importance as compared to other migration movements in the decade 1910-20." He gives as his reasons: The South during this time sustained no loss in Negro population; the migration of Southern Negroes to the North and West was not nearly so great as has been generally surmised; the Negroes born in the North and West are more migratory than the Negroes born in the South; more white people migrated than Negroes.

Now, supposing that all these statements are true, would it be correct to say that the importance of the Negro migrations of the past decade has been overestimated? By no means. Dowd misses the essential point. The Negro migrations of 1910-1920, and especially after 1916, were shifts not only to the North, but to industrial centers. These migrations are furnishing the Negro race, so largely agricultural in character, with a proletariat, which alone can give leadership and direction to the oppressed Negro urban and rural masses. The proletarianization of large masses of Negroes is of special importance to the labor movement of America since the Negroes are so largely employed in heavy industry, and within these basic industries form such a large proportion of the English-speaking workers.

So much for the "completeness" of Dowd's book. Now, what of its scientific value? What is Professor Dowd's explanation of the low economic and social status of the American Negro, and the prejudice he always faces?

"Race equality means that, whereas differences in hereditary value exist among all varieties of plants and animals, the races of men form an exception to the rule and through all the vicissitudes of climate and social revolution have remained undifferentiated. It means that the biological principle of natural selection does not apply to human beings . . . . it means that sexual selection is inoperative among men . . . . It means that there is no such thing as social selection . . . . It means that the science of eugenics is 'bunk' . . . ."

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We Communists do not ask: Are all the races of men equal, in culture, in economic power, etc.? We can easily see that they are not . . . . otherwise, in our fight against race discrimination, enforced disabilities, etc., we would be attempting to force doors that are already open. We ask rather: What are the reasans for the differences in social and economic standing, etc., between the various races? To this question there are two possible answers: Either the differences of race are inherent, and racial inequalities arise because of these inherent traits, or, the differences in the level of the races have arisen through the varying economic and social forces that have played upon them.

Professor Dowd subscribes, on the whole, to the first explanation. We Communists—backed up by the immense majority of scientific men—subscribe to the second.

Dowd says: "The essential fact in the race problem is that races differ, whether that differences be inborn or acquired . . . They differ in physical characteristics, in psychological traits, in tradition, and in general culture, and these differences give rise to the race problem, no matter what may be the facts as to the superiority of one race over another." The corrollaries to this are: "The aversion which unlike races feel to social intermingling is due to their consciousness of difference, which arises spontaneously from the feeling in each race of 'consciousness of kind.'" "The fact is that all men manifest social aversion to other races under similar conditions of contact." "The policy of segregating the Negro in the United States has not come about through any consideration of expediency, or mutual advantage, but has resulted from the natural dispositions of the races."

Professor Dowd explains the extreme poverty and ignorance of the Negro tenant farmer not by the abuses of the tenant-farmer system and the tenant's lack of leisure and proper schooling facilities, but by the Negro's "shiftlessness" and "child-like mind"—supposed racial characteristics. The segregation of the Negro in social life he explains by saying that races prefer to segregate. In other words, the Negro is poor, culturally backward, and socially despised—because he is a Negro. A really brilliant explanation.

Bucharin answers Mr. Dowd's ridiculous arguments in his book "Historical Materialization."

> "It is difference of race (according to the exponents of the race theory—P. H.) that is the true reason for the differing evolution of society. Race must be the point of departure in the discussion of evolution . . . . On the subject of this theory, G. V. Plechanov made the following perfectly correct observation: 'In considering the question of the cause of a certain historical phenomenon, sensible and serious people often content themselves with solutions which solve nothing at all, being merely a repetition of the question in other forms of expression. Suppose you put one of the above mentioned questions to a "scholar"; ask him why certain races develop with such remarkable slowness, while others advance rapidly on the path of civilization. Your "scholar" will not hesitate to reply that this phenomenon is to be explained by racial qualities. Can you see any sense in such an answer? Certain races develop slowly because it is a racial quality with them to develop slowly; others become civilized very rapidly because their principal racial characteristic is the ability to become civilized very rapidly' . . . .
>
> "At bottom, this theory always reduces itself to the peculiarities of races, to their immemorial 'character'. If such were the case, this 'character would have expressed itself in the same way in all the periods of history. . . . .
>
> "The adherents of the race theory succeeded in making their most absurd statements during the World War, which they attempted to explain as a race conflict, although the absolute ridiculousness of this notion was manifest to any person in his sound mind; for the Serbs, allied with the Japanese, were fighting the Bulgarians; the English, allied with the Russians, were fighting the Germans . . . ."

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The absurd theory which Bucharin refutes in this last paragraph is one in which Professor Dowd is a firm believer: He asks:

"Was not the World War set in motion by such racial friction in Southeastern Europe?"

And again: "The Negro problem is only one aspect of the ever present fact of racial conflict, which has been the chief factor in all the great wars that have scourged mankind, and which is now the greatest obstacle to world peace."

Professor Dowd is particularly horrified at the suggestion that will some day amalgamate all the races of the world. He says that "it is only by each race's retaining its individuality and flowering in its particular habitat that the culture of the world can receive its greatest variety and richness of content," and that "In so far as difference of culture influence amalgamation there is a reason to believe that amalgamation will be less common in the future than it has been in the past."

The social and cultural difference between races are not inherent, nor are they physically inherited. Certain races show similar traits generation after generation only because they are subjected, generation after generation, to similar conditions. The Negro in America has remained culturally inferior for three hundred years only because the Negro's opportunities for culture have for three hundred years remained consistently poorer than the white man's. Communism will break down these enforced disabilities; all races, given the same opportunities, will rise to the same level. Under such conditions the "natural" barrier to amalgamation which Prof. Dowd perceives will naturally disappear. The reclamation of waste lands, the movement of peoples from over-crowded portions of the earth, and other factors, will all have their effect, of course, on the speed with which this development will proceed.

What does Professor Dowd suggest as a solution of the race problem in the United States? He considers that it is possible to make some improvement in the condition of the Negro, although a point of equality can never be reached. He believes that the program of Booker T. Washington offers the greatest hope for the American Negro: "The great turning point in the career of the American Negroes was in the year 1895, when their self-consciousness was aroused and set in motion by the meteoric appearance of Booker T. Washington as their leader." A moment's reflection will show us why Booker Washington is in such good grace with our professor.

Washington said that the hope of the Negro lay in the acquisition of "property, economy, education, and Christian character," and in the development of "habits of thrift, love of work, economy, ownership of property, bank accounts." He asked that the Negroes turn their attention to these things, and give up, for a time at least, all insistance on civil rights, political power, and, especially, social equality. It is significant that Dowd selects 1895 as the turning-point in the history of the American Negro; for that was the year of Washington's famous "compromise" speech made at the Atlanta exposition, in which he said of the relations of black and white:

"In all things purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress."

We have, unfortunately, no space for a detailed criticism of the program of Booker Washington. We can only say here that the hope of the

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Negro race lies, not in silent submission to injustice, nor in loyalty to the capitalist class, nor in the development of a middle class of its own, but in the growth of a militant Negro proletariat, allied with the workers of other races.

Of a final solution of the Negro problem Professor Dowd has no hope. "The Negro problem, like that of mixing oil and water, is insoluble." And, in one sense, Professor Dowd is correct. To him, the capitalist state is a permanent thing, and capitalist society will never pass away. And as long as the capitalist system remains, there will be war between the capitalists and workers, and just so long will the capitalists and their allies fan the flame of race-hate and maintain the conditions of racial inequality, which have proved such effective tools in the past for separating the fighting forces of the workers. Fortunately for the workers, and especially for the subject races, the capitalist system is by no means as permanent as our professor of sociology from Oklahoma would have us believe. —P. H.

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THROUGH THE MONTH

LATIN AMERICA.

March 1. The Executive Committee of the Communist International issued an appeal against the act of American imperialism in Latin America, particularly Nicaragua. "United States imperialism, throwing aside its democratic mask, cynically and openly announces its intention to convert the countries of Latin America into colonies. The Communist International has always fought against imperialism, not excluding the most shameless and strongest imperialism—that of the United States. It calls upon all anti-imperialist forces to support the little country of Nicaragua."

March 1. Senator Borah openly denounced the administration's Latin-American policy. This followed several tilts between Borah and the administration on the question of the interchange of correspondence between Borah and Calles.

March 1. Dr. Vaca, agent of the liberal Nicaraguan government, charged that the sending of a British warship to Nicaragua was the result of a plot between England and the United States to rob Nicaragua of her independence.

March 6. Manuel Tellez, Mexican ambassador to the United States, left Washington for Mexico. No reason for his departure was given.

March 10. Stakeley W. Morgan, one of Kellogg's aides, informed the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations that American naval forces were responsible for the destruction of large amounts of arms and ammunition belonging to the liberal forces.

March 10. Alexandra Kollontay, Soviet ambassador to Mexico, charged that the stories spread by the American Department of State that the Soviet government was plotting to stir up trouble in Latin America were the usual Kellogg fabrications.

March 13. Senator William H. King was barred from Haiti on the ground that he had declared that the Haitian president, Borno, was a puppet of the American sugar interests and the National City Bank.

March 14. General Estrada, former Mexican minister of war, was found guilty of plotting to enter Mexico with an armed force for the purpose of overthrowing the Mexican government and was sentenced to one and a half years' imprisonment.

March 16. The conservative Diaz forces were defeated by the liberals after a fierce battle near San Jeronimo.

March 16. The United States Department of Commerce issued a report declaring that rubber can be grown commercially in Mexico, Central and South America, if cheap labor can be secured.

March 21. Mexico sent a note to the United States which is believed to be conciliatory, but the contents of which were not disclosed either by the Mexican government or the State Department.

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March 21. New York bankers extended a loan of one million dollars to the Diaz "government" of Nicaragua.

March 22. The anti-smuggling treaty with Mexico was broken off by the State Department. No reason was given. This makes possible the smuggling of large amounts of arms and ammunition for use by the enemies of the Mexican government.

March 23. Secretary of State Kellogg announced the sale to the leader of the conservative forces in Nicaragua, Diaz, of large stores of arms and ammunition to suppress the revolutionary movement.

March 25. The Costa Rican Congress decided to petition all Central American countries to end American intervention and to bring about peace in Nicaragua.

March 28. Dispatches from Mexico indicate that the Calles government is in possession of documents proving that the United States government is involved in a plot with the reactionary forces in Mexico against the Mexican government.

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FOREIGN AFFAIRS.

Feb. 28. The answer of the Soviet Union to the provocative note of the British government was delivered to the British attache in Moscow. The note refutes the false charges of the British note, points out that just as many speeches were made by leading individuals in England attacking the Soviet Union as by Russian Communists against British imperialism, and declares very emphatically that the Soviet Union will continue to work for peace, confident that the masses of the Soviet Union and England will support such efforts. Referring to the British threat to sever diplomatic and commercial relations, the note continues: "If the British government thinks that such abrogation is demanded by the interests of the British people and general peace, the British government must assume full responsibility for the ensuing consequences."

March 3. The 11th national convention of the Communist Party of Germany opened in Essen. Thirty thousand workers were present at the demonstration to welcome the delegates. The convention sent condolences to the Workers (Communist) Party of America on the death of C. E. Ruthenberg.

March 4. The Italian government confirmed reports of a big loan to Italy by New York bankers, under the direction of J. P. Morgan. The amount was not given by the government, but is estimated at thirty million dollars.

March 7. The French Chamber of Deputies passed the universal conscription bill, which provides for the enrollment in time of war of all French citizens "without distinction of age or sex."

March 8. The French Chamber of Deputies approved Premier Poincare's provisional agreement with the United States under which France would pay ten million dollars this year on her debt to the United States.

March 8. The Italian representative on the Council of the League of Nations announced that Italy had decided to ratify the treaty giving Bessarabia, with an overwhelming population of Russians and Ukrainians, to Roumania.

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March 20. Discoveries that Italy was concentrating troops on the northern border led to rumors that war between Italy and Jugo-Slavia might break out any minute. Well-informed circles maintain that England is backing Italy and France Jugo-Slavia, but that both powers will endeavor to prevent a war at the present time.

March 21. The "disarmament" preparatory conference began in Geneva with the participation of representatives of 21 nations.

March 25. The Jugo-Slavian government prepared a circular note to the powers asking for an investigation of Italy's war preparations.

March 31. Representatives of all parties, speaking in the German Reichstag, demanded a downward revision of the Dawes payments.

March 31. The British cabinet held a special meeting to consider the question of extending the suffrage to women from the age of 21. At present only women over 30 can vote. Baldwin and Joynson Hicks have pledged themselves in favor of this step, but other members of the cabinet, particularly Birkenhead, are bitterly opposed to it.

March 31. The Italian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued the basis upon which Italy is willing to make peace with Jugo-Slavia. The demands include: Ratification by Jugo-Slavia of the Nettune conventions which regulate the status of Fiume, and explicit recognition of the pre-eminence of Italian interests in Albania.

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INTERNAL AFFAIRS.

Feb. 28. The Supreme Court of the United States cancelled the oil leases of Doheny in Elk Hills, Cal., on the ground that they were illegal and obtained by fraudulent acts of Albert B. Fall at that time Secretary of the Interior, in collusion with Admiral Robinson and Secretary of the Navy Denby.

March 2. President Coolidge signed the naval appropriation bill providing $325,000,000 for naval armaments.

March 4. The 69th Congress adjourned with many important bills not acted upon as a result of the filibuster in the Senate against the Reed investigation committee.

March 4. Thomas W. Miller, former alien property custodian, was convicted and Harry M. Daugherty freed by hung jury on the charges of sharing between them a "fee" of $391,000 paid by Germans whose property was held by the government for the release of that property.

March 7. The United States Supreme Court declared unconstitutional the Texas state law prohibiting Negroes from participating in Democratic primary elections.

March 14. The segregation law of Louisiana which established white and Negro communities, was declared unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

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March 16. Harry F. Sinclair, multi-millionaire oil king, was convicted for contempt of the Senate because he refused to answer questions in the investigation of the oil scandals.

March 16. The State Department refused to grant a visa to Piatakoff, who was appointed to head the Soviet Trading Corporation in the United States.

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THE LABOR MOVEMENT.

March 2. Charles E. Ruthenberg, general secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party of America, and leader of the American Communist movement, died in Chicago from peritonitis following an operation on appendicitis. He had been ill only a few days and before that was in excellent health. His last words, when he knew that he was dying were, "Tell the comrades to close the ranks, to build the Party. The American workers, under the leadership of the Comintern and our Party, will win. Let's fight on."

March 4. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union cabled its grief at the loss suffered by the international working class through the death of Ruthenberg, and requested that his ashes be sent to Moscow to be deposited under the Kremlin wall with the heroes of the November Revolution.

March 6. A. W. Calhoun, of the Brookwood Labor College, withdrew his support from the Pioneer Youth on the ground that the latter was not a real working class childrens' organization.

March 6. 15,000 workers came to the funeral services for C. E. Ruthenberg in Chicago. The speakers included Jay Lovestone, acting secretary of the Workers (Communist) Party, Max Bedacht, James P. Cannon, Wm. Z. Foster, Arne Swabeck, Nat Kaplan, Ford of the American Negro Labor Congress, and a representative of the Kuomintang Party.

March 7. Over a thousand workers attended the Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting in Detroit. The speakers were Scott Nearing, Herbert Zam, Walter Trumbull, R. Baker, and Newman of the American Negro Labor Congress.

March 8. More than 1,200 workers attended the Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting in Cleveland. The speakers were Max Bedacht, Herbert Zam, I. Amter.

March 8. The ashes of C. E. Ruthenberg arrived in New York. Several thousand workers accompanied them from the station to the hall, where thousands of workers viewed them all day and night.

March 9. Three large halls were filled to overflowing at the Ruthenberg memorial meetings in New York. The speakers in the Carnegie Hall included Jay Lovestone, Max Bedacht, Wm. Z. Foster, B. Lifshitz, W. W. Weinstone, Herbert Zam, Lovett Fort-Whiteman of the American Negro Labor Congress, and representatives of the Kuomintang Party. Fifteen thousand workers came to the meetings.

March 10. Fifteen hundred workers attended the Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting in Boston. The speakers were Max Bedacht, Herbert Zam, Gus Shklar, Harry Cantor and Mrs. Hoffman.

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March 11. Two thousand workers came to pay their last respects to C. E. Ruthenberg at the Memorial Meeting in Philadelphia. The speakers were Max Bedacht, Herbert Zam, J. O. Bentall, Irving Green.

March 12. The Ruthenberg Memorial Meeting in Pittsburgh was attended by 500 workers. The speakers were J. J. Ballam, Abram Jakira, A. Minerich.

March 13. More than 2,000 workers, mostly Chinese, attended the Memorial Meeting for Sun Yat Sen at the Bowery Theater, New York.

March 14. The General Executive Board of the Wisconsin State Federation of Labor adopted a resolution denouncing the invasion by American forces of China and Nicaragua and demanded the immediate withdrawal of these troops.

March 18. The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party launched a drive for new members, to be known as the Ruthenberg membership drive. This is for the purpose of recruiting new members to fill the gap left by the death of Ruthenberg.

March 23. The Milk Drivers and Creamery Workers' Union of Boston was ordered by court to pay $61,971 to milk companies because it has enforced the closed shop, and thus "caused these companies to lose business."

March 29. The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America issued a call to the membership to unify the ranks of the party and to stand ready to repel all attacks against the Communist movement of America on the part of the government, employers, trade union bureaucrats and yellow Socialists.

March 31. The strike of bituminous miners in the central competitive field, scheduled for April 1, virtually began today when the miners emerged from the pits carrying their working clothes and belongings. Between 150,000 and 200,000 men from the states of Ohio, Illinois, Indiana and Western Pennsylvania are involved.

March 31. An agreement was reached between the Associated Fur Manufacturers and the right wing bureaucrats of the International Fur Workers' Union, whereby the manufacturers recognize the special committee appointed by the American Federation of Labor to reorganize the union and to employ only workers holding membership in the fake locals "reorganized" by this committee. This exposes the alliance between the employers and the trade union bureaucrats against the militant trade unionists in this industry as in the ladies' garment industry.

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CHINA. **March 5.** Great indignation was aroused among the Chinese masses by the provocative parading of United States marines through the streets of Shanghai.

March 7. The city of Soochow was taken by the Nationalist Revolutionary troops.

March 8. Madame Borodine, and three other Soviet citizens, were arrested by the forces of Chang Tso Lin, and threatened with immediate execution. Protests of the Soviet government failed to bring about their release.

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March 8. Wuhu, strategic city on the Shanghai-Peking Railway, was captured by the Nationalist Revolutionary troops.

March 15. A "Hands Off China" conference was held in New York, with many delegates representing trade unions, political parties, fraternal organizations, Negro organizations, Chinese organizations, and other organizations of oppressed nationalities.

March 18. In anticipation of the capture of Shanghai by the Nationalist Revolutionary troops, a People's Delegate Assembly was organized for the purpose of taking over the government as soon as this was done. Representatives from trade unions, factories, students' and merchants' organizations attended.

March 20. Shanghai, the largest city in China, was taken by the Nationalist Revolutionary troops and the organized workers within the city. The reactionray army was completely routed by the uprising of the workers and was compelled to evacuate the city when the revolutionary army was still more than 10 miles away. Shanghai collects 35% of all revenues in China, and is the center of the power of the foreign imperialists.

March 23. The Nationalist Revolutionary commander of Shanghai, Gen. Pai Tsung Hsi, issued a proclamation saying that the purpose of the Cantonese is not only to abolish the unequal treaties and the international settlements, and the withdrawal of extra-territorial rights, but also to serve as a base for the world struggle against imperialism.

March 23. Secretary of Navy Wilbur announces that Admiral C. S. Williams has been given full power in China to act for the American government.

March 24. British and American warships bombarded the city of Nanking to "protect" foreign residents. It is estimated that 700 Chinese, men, women and children, were killed and wounded. Of the foreigners, four were killed and several wounded.

March 27. The Central Executive Committee of the Workers (Communist) Party of America addressed a message to the American workers pointing out the savage exploitation of China by foreign imperialists, and demanding that the United States withdraw all troops from China and keep its hands off China.

March 27. 1,500 troops and 12 airplanes were rushed to China by the U. S. government.

March 31. Over 50,000 workers demonstrated in the Red Square at Moscow in protest against the bombardment of Nanking by the foreign imperialist navies.

At the end of the month, the Nationalist Revolutionary government had under its control the following provinces:

Province.	Population.
Kwantung	37,200,000
Kwangsi	12,300,000
Fukien	13,200,000
Hunan	28,500,000
Hupeh	27,200,000
Kiangsi	24,500,000

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*Kansu	5,900,000
Sinking	2,500,000
*Shensi	9,500,000
Chekiang	11,600,000
Honan (one-half of province)	11,100,000
Kiangsu (one-half of province)	10,500,000
Nganwei (two-thirds of province)	13,600,000
Total	207,600,000

In addition, the following provinces have decided to support the Nationalist Revolutionary government but have not yet been incorporated.

Province.	Population.
Kweichow	7,700,000
Szechuan	68,000,000
Yuan	12,000,000
Total	87,700,000

Thus, the territory now under control of the Nationalist Revolutionary government includes almost 300,000,000 inhabitants.

Half of the province of Honan is still under the control of Wu Pei Fu, who is at present independent, and the following provinces are controlled by the forces of the reactionary tool of the foreign imperialists, Chang Tso Lin.

Province.	Population.
Nganwei (one-third of province)	7,000,000
Kiangsu (one-half of province)	10,500,000
Shantung	36,300,000
Shansi	12,200,000
Chihli	18,000,000
Manchuria	7,500,000
Total	91,500,000

*Provinces thus marked are controlled by Feng Yu Hsiang, an ally of the Nationalist Revolutionary government.

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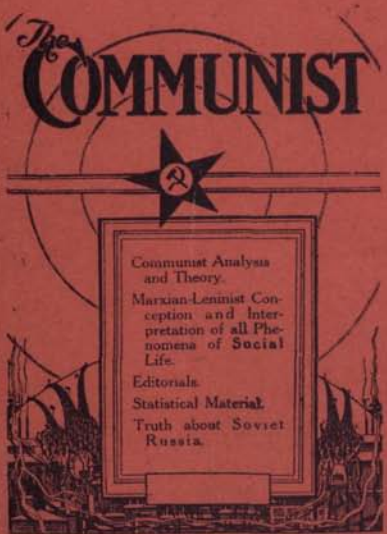

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